National Anti-Slavery Standard

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, EDITOR. Without Concealment---Without Compromise. EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, COR. EDITORS

VOL. XII. NO. 11. NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 7, 1851. WHOLE NO. 583.

Published weekly, on Thursday, by the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, at their office, No. 142 NASSAU STREET, NEW-YORK. Terms, Two DOLLARS per annum. Printed for the American Anti-Slavery Society, by Norris & brother, printers.

Selections.

CHRISTIAN ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT CHICAGO.

Of this Convention it is our privilege to speak as an eye-witness.

Its sessions embraced three entire days—July, 3–5. Pres. Blanchard, of Knox College, presided; more than two hundred and sixty members, from thirteen Christian denominations, composed the Convention. The body organized under the call, and under a resolution adopted, to the effect that it should embrace only professed Christians, holding the sentiments commonly styled evangelical, and being now either in connection with evangelical churches or withholding fellowship for the sake of protest against Slavery or kindred sins. The ground distinctly and strongly taken was that we are not enemies, but the true friends, of Christ's church; that we do not convene to destroy, but to purify, save and bless, the real church of Jesus Christ. The Convention disclaim all sympathy with church-destructives; join hands and hearts warmly with true church-reformers. It was deemed important in the outset to define our precise position in this respect.

Of the members composing this Convention, about one hundred and fifty were Congregationalists; eight were Free Presbyterians; twenty-five were Wesleyan Methodists; thirty-six were Baptists; sixteen were New School Presbyterians; four were Reformed Presbyterians, besides smaller numbers from other bodies.

It was one of the choice features of the Convention that the spirit of sect retired before the spirit of Christian love and a common interest in rescuing all portions of the church from the corrupting influences of Slavery. It was indeed a most affecting and encouraging spectacle to see men who, by reason of their diverse sectarian relations, were never brought together before, now uniting together with common sympathies and overflowing soul, to press forward their great common object. We could not but deem this a hopeful presage of Millennial peace, union and love.

As befitted a *Christian* Anti-Slavery Convention, each morning session began with an hour of prayer. It was most apparent that the brethren felt it good to be there. Conscious weakness in self seemed to blend with conscious strength in God.

"Prayer made the darkened cloud withdraw,"

so that, although the obstacles before us towered high, yet God's strength was seen to tower far higher. We cannot soon forget those scenes of prayer. It was easy to feel that their influence pervaded the business sessions of the Convention.

TOPICS DISCUSSED.

The principal topics brought under discussion were presented by means of reports from Committees, portions at least of which we shall lay before our readers. They were,

(1.) *On the connection of the churches with Slavery through their communion and church fellowship*; reported by Rev. C. B Boynton, Cincinnati.

(2.) On the connection of the churches with Slavery through their Foreign Mission Boards; by Rev. J. B. Walker, of Ohio.

(3.) On the similar connection through Home Missions; by Pres. J. Blanchard, of Knox College, Ill.

(4.) On the connection of the church with Slavery, through her religious literature; by Pres. Mahan, of Cleveland.

(5.) On the Fugitive Slave Law; and,

(6.) On the political duties of Christian Anti-Slavery men.

Of these the first three became the principal subjects of discussion. As fast as our space will permit, we intend to present our readers with these reports, at least in substance, together with a synopsis of the views of the Convention as developed in the discussions.

GENERAL OBJECTS OF THE CONVENTION.

First, and most comprehensively *to reform the church*. Secondly, as one important means of securing this result, to sever her from all such connections with Slavery as operate alike to sustain the system and corrupt herself. It was a special object to rescue the church from her direct or implied sanction of obvious, if not admitted, sins. It was both clearly seen and deeply felt that the sanction given by the church to sin must inevitably, as thus far it does obviously, paralyze her moral power, and hurry her adown the fearful descent of moral degeneracy to utter imbecility and incurable corruption.

The synopsis given above will show that special regard was had to the reforming of the benevolent organizations of the church, by severing all their sanctioning connections with Slavery. These organizations ought to be the glory of our age. They ought to quicken and purify the piety of the church. No means could, it would seem, be better adapted for this end. "Now if the light that is in you be darkness, how great is that darkness!" Make the human eye all dark, and how is that whole body filled with darkness! So if the purest agencies of the church become corrupt, who can measure the magnitude and fearfulness of the resulting ruin?

It was deemed vitally important to bring the church into a position where, unconstrained and unimpeded, she might develop her own legitimate moral power, over the consciences of men. She holds not this position so long as she builds up iniquity and oppression with one hand, yet seeks professedly to pull it down with the other.

Consistency is more than a *jewel*;—it is the talisman of moral strength. It is vain for the church to appeal to the public conscience with no other than a corrupted conscience herself. It is a hopeless thing for her to throw out a moral influence to bless others, when she has scarcely moral vitality enough to drag out a lingering existence.

But time fails to expand this idea.

Another point was to hasten the entire annihilation of American Slavery and of every other kindred form of wrong. A first stept in this work is to withdraw the support afforded to Slavery by the church. The church ought to be God's great instrumentality, not to curse the world, as for example with Slavery, but to bless the world; and in the present case, by letting Slavery fall, or more yet, by hurling it down, and by filling the world with equal love and joyous righteousness. The Christian men of the Chicago Convention would fain transfer the American churches from the position of foes to that of friends of the oppressed of our country. Surely her natural, her only true position, is one *for* God and man, and not against the purest sympathies and highest interests of both.

An important means to the attainment of these ends is to search out all the ramifying influences of Slavery upon the church and upon society at large—especially to develop its workings upon our political relations, and upon the literature of our nation. These points need to be fully developed, else only a small portion of its malign and Jesuitical power are known or can be counteracted.

A strong illustration of this remark is found in the hardihood and meanness with which Slavery has mutilated literary works, and the searching espionage with which she watches the press, to keep from the public mind, if she can, all truth on this subject.

RESULTS OF THE CONVENTION.

1. Men of kindred sympathies and aims, from all portions of the Great West, and men of various religious denominations have met, have shaken hands, have joined their hearts in prayer, have mingled their sympathies, have cultivated mutual acquaintance, and hence mutual confidence, and consequently they now understand much better each other's position and the general strength of the cause.

2. Much has been done in the way of bringing out facts, developing principles, fixing upon the course of duty and stimulating each other in its prosecution.

3. Incipient measures have been taken, which will be followed up by future efforts, and as we cannot doubt, with augmented and ultimately victorious results.

4. The unexpected numbers in attendance, the sacrifice of time and money made in this attendance, and not least, the manifest indications of a deep and soul-stirring interest in the objects of the Convention, all conspire to show that the public mind is ripe for such an effort, and that the exigencies of the day demand it. When such and so much feeling on so great a subject exists, the time has come for action. No mistake was made in either the time or the place of this Convention. It has made its mark upon the mind of our age, all the more deep because this mind was in some hopeful degree prepared for receiving a deep and lasting impress—*of a good mark*.

We trust great wisdom will characterize all future action, and much prayer be made for the ample blessings of Him from whom all wisdom and strength come.

MEANS OF PRESENT SUCCESS.

Near the close of the last session, a brother rose, and remarked that our sessions had been exceedingly harmonious, that our great work had been carried forward delightfully, and our highest anticipations more than realized, and that now some interest might be felt to know what had been the special means of these delightful results. He had received a letter from Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, a warm friend of our cause. It came to hand near the commencement of our sessions, and contained this most encouraging paragraph:—"I have been looking forward to the Convention with high anticipations. I have interested Christians in Canada in the Convention, and you will have the prayers of a goodly number there on your behalf." When I read this, said brother B., I felt assured that our meeting together would not be in vain in the Lord.

President Blanchard, chairman of the Convention, then arose to say that for several weeks past this Convention had been made a subject of special prayer in a weekly prayer-meeting held among the people and students with whom he labours. He felt encouraged with the assurance that He who loves to hear prayer, had been pleased to listen and send his tokens of favour from on high.

It scarcely need be said in conclusion that our apparent success in the measure and objects of the Convention was both the more hopeful and the more welcome for its coming so obviously in answer to prayer. Truly we want no success but through the Lord our God. His favour is life. His approval is heaven to the soul.—*Oberlin Evangelist.*

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN—WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

[From the London Morning Advertiser.]

WE have, of late, on more than one occasion, adverted to the fact, that London just now swarms with the abettors of American Slavery. We need not repeat the expression of those feelings with which we regard men, who, while participating in the guilt of holding their fellow-creatures in the chains of a cruel and degrading bondage, make flaming professions of discipleship to the Divine Founder of the Christian faith. With feelings of still more intense amazement and indignation do we regard those Evangelical divines, who are either the holders of slaves or the strenuous advocates of Slavery. From the contemplation of the character and conduct of such men, we turn away in sorrow and sickness of soul, to advert for a moment or two to a very different class of Americans, whom the Great Exhibition, and other causes, have at this time attracted to England.

The readers of this journal need not now to be told, that for more than twenty years there have been a noble band of men and women in the United States, with their head quarters in Boston, who, under the name of Abolitionists, have been labouring incessantly, with a zeal, a courage, and a heroism, which all circumstances considered, we hold to be almost unparalleled in history, for the liberation of the 3 000,000 human beings who are held in bondage in the Southern States of America.

Our limited space forbids the attempt even to glance at the self-sacrifices which this chosen band of Abolitionists have made, and the true nobility of soul they have displayed in the pursuit of the great object, on the achievement of which they have set their hearts. We refer our readers for more detailed information than our space will allow us to give, to an article from the pen of Miss Martineau, which appeared twelve years ago in the *Westminster Review*, under the title of *The Martyr Age in the United States*. So much lofty principle, such elevated aims, such real nobility of nature, such unflinching firmness of puepose, such displays of moral courage, and so much self-abnegation, have hardly ever before been witnessed in combination.

If this may with truth be predicated of those of our own sex, to whom our observations in part refer, it applies with a peculiar emphasis to the lady Abolitionists of America. Under the name of the 'Female Anti-Slavery Society of Boston,' a number of ladies, some of them of the highest rank, and of distinguished intellectual acquirements, in that city, formed themselves, at the period to which we have referred, into a confederation for the liberation of the slaves in the Southern States. This noble army of female soldiers in the cause of outraged justice and suffering humanity, committed themselves to the chiefiainship of Mrs. Chapman. Of this lady, Miss Martineau thus speaks:—

'Before we proceed, it is necessary to say a few words upon the most remarkable of these women—the understood author of the books whose titles stand at the head of our article. Maria Weston was educated in England, and might have remained here in the enjoyment of wealth, luxury and fashion; but with these she could not obtain sufficient freedom of thought and action to satisfy her noble natnre, and, no natural ties detaining her, she returned to New England, to earn her bread there by teaching, and breathe as freely as she desired. She has paid a heavy tax of persecution for her freedom; but she has it. She is it a woman of rare intellectual accomplishment, full of reading, and with strong and well exercised powers of thought. She is beautiful as the day, tall in her person, and noble in her carriage, with a voice as sweet as a silver bell, and speech as clear and sparkling as a running brook. Her accomplishments have expanded in a happy home.—She has been for some years the wife of Mr. Henry Chapman, a merchant of Boston, an excellent man, whose spirit of self-denial is equal to his wife's, and is shown no less nobly in the same cause. A woman of genius like hers cannot but take the lead wherever she acts at all; and she is the life and soul of the enterprise in Boston.'

After speaking of Mrs. Chapman as the greatest beauty in Boston, Miss Martineau adds:—'This lady with all her sisters, took her ground early, and has always had sober reason to plead for every one of her many extensions of effort.'

In order that our readers may have some idea of what these ladies had to endure in the form of physical danger, in addition to the contumely and calumnies heaped upon them by the upholders of Slavery, we transfer into our columns an account of one of the many scenes of personal peril through which they had to pass, as given by Miss Martineau:—

'To consult on their labours of this and other kinds the ladies of the Boston Anti-Slavery Society intended to meet at their own office, in Washinton street, on the 21st of October. Handbills had been circulated and posted up in different parts of the city the day before, offering rewards to any persons who would commit certain acts of violence—such as 'bringing Thompson to the tar-kettle before dark.' The ladies were informed that they would be killed: and when they applied at the Mayor's office for protection to their lawful meeting, the City Marshal replied, 'You give us a great deal of trouble.' This trouble, however, their consciences compelled them to give. They could not decline the duty of asserting their liberty of meeting and free discussion.—But Mrs. Chapman felt that every member should have notice of what might await her, and she herself carried the warning from house to house, with all discretion and quietness. Among those whom she visited was an artizan's wife, who was sweeping out one of her two rooms as Mrs. Chapman entered. On hearing that there was every probability of violence, and that the warning was given in order that she might stay away if she thought proper, she leaned upon her broom and considered for awhile. Her answer was—"I have often wished and asked that I might be able to do something for the slaves, and it seems to me that this is the very time and the very way. You will see me at the meeting, and I will keep a prayerful mind, as I am about my work, till then."

'Twenty-five reached the place of meeting, by presenting themselves three quarters of an hour before the time Five more struggled up the stairs, and a hundred were turned back by the mob. It is well known how these ladies were mobbed by some hundreds of gentlemen in fine broadcloth. (Boston broadcloth has become celebrated since that day.) It is well known how these gentlemen hurraed, broke down the partition, and threw orange peel at the ladies while they were at prayer: but Mrs. Chapman's part in the lessons of the hour has not been made public.

'She is the Foreign Corresponding Secretary of the Society, and she was in the midst of reading her report, in a noise too great to allow of her being heard, when the Mayor of Boston, Mr. Lyman, entered the room in great trepidation.

"Ladies," said he, "I request you to dissolve this meeting."

"Mr. Mayor," said Mrs. Chapman, "we desire you to disperse this mob."

"Ladies," the Mayor continued, "you must dissolve this meeting; I cannot preserve the peace."

"Mr. Mayor," replied Mrs. Chapman, "we are disturbed in our lawful business by this unlawful mob, and it is your business to relieve us of it."

"I know it, Mrs. Chapman, I know it; but I cannot—I cannot protect you; and I entreat you to go."

"If that be the case," answered she, "as we have accomplished our object, and vindicated our right of meeting, we will, if the meeting pleases, adjourn." She looked round upon her companions, and proposed that, to accommodate the authorities, they should adjourn their meeting. This was agreed to, and the women passed down the stairs and through the mob, and, as the business of the day was finished, each to her own home. Certain of the fine broad-cloth men observed afterwards that Mrs. Chapman, in the highest excitement of the hour, looked more like an angel than a woman that is visible every day. She was not aware that her friend Garrison was in the hands of the mob, and she, therefore, went home, as she had advised her companions to do, and sat down to her needle. Presently several gentlemen entered without asking admission. She recognised among them some members of Dr. Channing's church, whom she was accustomed to meet at worship Sunday by Sunday. They demanded Mr. Thompson, saying that they had reason to believe he was in that house. They wanted Mr. Thompson.

"I know it," said she, "and I know what you want with Mr. Thompson; you want his blood."

'They declared they would not shed his blood; but she held them off till they had pledged themselves that under no circumstances should Mr. Thompson receive bodily harm.

"This pledge is what I wanted," said she; "and now I will tell you that Mr. Thompson is not here, and I am sure I don't know where he is."

'She then told the gentlemen that she had something to say to them, and they must hear her. On a day like this, when the laws were broken, and the peace of society violated by those who ought best to know their value, it was no time for ceremony; she should speak with the plainness which the times demanded. And she proceeded with a remonstrance so powerful that, after some argument, her adversaries fairly succumbed; one wept, and another asked as a favour that she would shake hands with him. But at this crisis her husband came in. The sight of him revived the bad passions of these gentry. They said they had to inform him, that they had obtained the names of his commercial correspondents in the South, and were about depriving him of his trade, by informing his Southern connections that the merchants of Boston disowned him for a fellow-citizen, and had proscribed him from their society. Mr. Chapman quietly replied, that by their thus coming to see him, he was enabled to save them the trouble of writing to the South; and he proceeded to explain that, finding his Southern commerce implicated with slave labour, he had surrendered more and more of it, and had this very week declined to execute orders to the amount of three thousand dollars. There was nothing left for these magnanimous gentlemen but to sneak away."

Again, we ask, was there ever heroism like this? We repeat, that we know of no parallel to it in ancient or modern times. Only imagine a young and beautiful woman of the most lady-like manners and the highest intellectual acquirements, demeaning herself with the calmness, the composure, the dignity, which Miss Martineau so graphically describes, amid such scenes of turbulence and peril. But we forbear to say all we would otherwise do on the subject, because Mrs. Chapman and her sisters are at present in this country.

What Mrs. Chapman was in the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Boston, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison has been among the male Abolitionists of America. He has been, and is the life and soul of the movement. This heroic man has suffered more than can be imagined in the Anti-Slavery Cause. He has been in prison, as well as in perils, for his principles. On more than one occasion, he has been in danger of being literally torn in pieces by an infuriated mob. But, like Mrs. Chapman, he had carefully counted the cost when he embarked in the Anti-Slavery enterprise. Like that lady, and others of her sex associated with her, he was quite ready, at any time, should circumstances demand it, to offer up his life a sacrifice for his principles. What this extraordinary man felt, and resolved to do and to suffer, should circumstances render it necessary, he has recorded in the lines which follow, written when he was in prison, on the walls, and when the probability of a violent death stared him in the face:—

'I boast no courage on the battle-field,
Where hostile troops inmix in bloody fray;
For love or fame I can no weapon wield,
With burning lust an enemy to slay.
But test my spirit at the burning stake,
For advocacy of the Rights of Man
And Truth—or on the wheel my body break;
Let persecution place me 'neath its ban;
Insult, defame, proscribe my humble name;
Yea, put the dagger at my naked breast;
If I recoil in terror from the flame—
Or recreant prove when peril rears its crest,
To save a limb, or shun the public scorn—
Then write me down for aye—*weakest of woman born!*"

It is an important fact in the consideration of the heroism which Mrs. Chapman, Mr. Garrison, and others of the chosen band of Abolitionists displayed in their conflicts with the slaveholders and the upholders of Slavery, that they had not only to run most imminent personal risks, and submit to privations and self-sacrifices of which we in this country can form no adequate conception, but that they had to encounter the public scorn in its most intense and concentrated forms. It is comparatively easy to submit to sacrifices, and even to death itself, in the promotion of a cause which engages sympathy and admiration of the world; but to do this under the circumstances which characterized the early conflicts which the Abolitionists carried on with Slavery in the United States, required a nobility of soul which it is given but few to possess.

Such are the men, such the women, from whom the Anti-Slavery Society in this country have not only kept studiously aloof, but whose moral influence, both here and in the United States, they have sedulously sought to impair, in every possible way. If the fact did not stare us in the face, it could scarcely be credited. But the point is one on which we shall have something more to say, on an early occasion.

With regard to Mr. Garrison, it is right we should make one or two remarks of an explanatory kind. We know of no man who has been more fiercely assailed, or more cruelly vilified in this country, and that, too, by those very persons who have arrogated themselves the title, *par excellence*, of the friends of Anti-Slavery. Not only did the leading men connected with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society keep aloof from him when he visited this country some years ago, but certain parties circulated all manner of sinister reports respecting his private character, with a zeal and industry which it would have been refreshing to witness in a better cause.

We know not that we could give a better proof of the success with which these persons laboured in their vocation, than by candidly confessing that we ourselves were impressed with the conviction, that Mr. Garrison was a man whose private character would not bear examination. We believed that so far was he from being, in the private relations of life, all which could be desired, that his habits were so dissolute, that it became a legitimate question whether even the most zealous Abolitionist, who respected moral rectitude, would be justified in associating with him.

We now find, after the most careful inquiry—made, be it observed, not of his personal friends, but of those who are rather his personal foes—that Mr. Garrison is a man of irreproschable character in all the relations of life, and that he is not only a man of unbounded benevolence and surpassing meekness of disposition, but of the purest morals. So unblemished, indeed, is his character, that even his bitterest enemies, whatever some of them may have insinuated, have never, in one solitary instance, been able to point to an act of his life which is not in perfect accordance with the loftiest standard of private morals.

But let us add, that the same regard for truth and justice which prompts our vindication of Mr. Garrison from the groundless charges preferred against him, demands that we should admit—and in doing so, we deeply deplore the fact—that his views on religious subjects are not in harmony with divine revelation. He rejects altogether the claims of the Scriptures to the character of an inspired book. Now, let it be distinctly understood, that we do not quarrel with Mr. Garrison, nor any other man, for his opinions on religious questions, however much they may differ from our own. We may and do deplore what we regard as the vital errors into which we believe him to have fallen; but still we accord to every man the same liberty of thought, and the same freedom of opinion which we claim for ourselves. What we complain of and lament in Mr. Garrison is, that in his advocacy of the holy enterprise in which he has embarked with his whole heart and soul, he should, on so many occasions, gratuitously obtrude his peculiar views on religious subjects. Why cannot he, in his capacity of an Anti-Slavery advocate, put his theological notions in abeyance? We do not ask him to disown them, but surely he need not go out of his way unnecessarily to obtrude them on the public. The course he has pursued on this subject—let the truth be told—has done incalculable damage to the Anti-Slavery cause, both here and in America. But for his lamentable indiscretions in this respect, it would be impossible to over-estimate the moral weight of character which would be associated with the name of such a man as Garrison. If our voice should chance to reach his ears across the wide world of waters which intervenes between him and us, let us with all the earnestness of which our minds are susceptible, adjure him hereafter to eschew all reference to his religious views, in his advocacy of the cause of the 3,000,000 human beings who are held in bondage in the Southern States of America.

THE AMERICAN ABOLITIONISTS.

[From the London Morning Advertiser].

TO THE EDITOR: *Sir*—I have read with deep interest, an article in your paper of June 30, in which you bear a valuable testimony to the labours and character of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and the more so, as the claims of this Society to the respect of all good men have been too long veiled from the British public by the studied silence or secret calumny of some amongst us, who made great pretence of piety towards God and zeal for the oppressed. I have, for many years, been deeply interested in the American Abolitionists, and have spared no pains to ascertain the truth respecting their personal character and the objects they had in view. The existence of Slavery in a country where religion is free, and the people rule, is a deadly crime against liberty and religion, and it is the duty of every one to assist the Americans to rid themselves from such a burning disgrace. The means which the Abolitionists, under the leadership of Mr. Garrison, have always adopted, have been the publication of facts, and the assertion of right principles. They have fearlessly brought this horrible institution to the law and to the testimony. They have forced their countrymen to compare their peculiar institution, and all its inevitable iniquities, with their loud professions of attachment to freedom and of love to God. The unswerving fidelity of the Abolitionists to this single object has earned for them the hatred with which they are so often regarded at home, and the efforts that are made to impeach their principles and traduce their characters abroad.

There are, however, a few sentiments in your article, to which I beg to draw your attention. You say, that for your present favourable impressions respecting Mr. Garrison, you are indebted to some who may be considered his personal enemies. I heartily congratulate those enemies on their magnanimity, and cannot but wish it had been sooner evinced. But you appear to have learned from the same source that Mr. Garrison is not a believer in the inspiration of the Bible. I, who am one of his personal friends, do not know this to be the case, and I think it unlikely to be known by those who have not had the opportunity of personal acquaintance with him. If they do not know it, they should not say so. This much is certain, Mr. Garrison is a native of Massachusetts, and has had a Puritan education; he is almost a man of one book, and that book is the Bible; he has it at his fingers' ends, and in the course of his long warfare with the open and disguised advocates of Slavery in the United States, his chief arguments, and much of his burning and indignant denunciations against the 'Sum of all Villanies' have been drawn from the Bible armory.

The bitterest enemies of Mr. Garrison are the clerical supporters of Slavery in America, and no assertion respecting his opinions on religious subjects can be safely believed, if it come from one who has no personal knowledge of him, or who, however favourable to the abolition of Slavery, is likely to have come under the hostile clerical influence with which this distinguished philanthropist, and truly good and great man, has had so long to contend.

Mr. Garrison is straight-forward, guileless, unaffected, plain-dealing. He is a true man, and as little of a sham as any of Mr. Carlyle's heroes, or as Mr. Carlyle himself. It is the misfortune of every man of this original stamp, to be liable to the charge of thrusting his opinions upon others, and Mr. Garrison has not escaped it. He advocates the slave's cause in his own way, and illustrates it from the resources of his own reading, and in the light of his own views of right and wrong. No wonder, then, that he has often been accused of mixing up his opposition to Slavery with his opinions on other subjects, on which people's minds are not so disposed to unite with him. My own impression is, that if the right of private judgment and independent thought which Protestants claim for themselves be conceded to him, will be found not to have erred unwarrantably in this particular. His views are often strikingly expressed—they are sometimes more original than those of others, and therefore they make more impression than the words of common men. I know that the American Anti-Slavery Society have taken great pains to keep their cause free from extraneous topics in their official action, and in their public documents. This is all we have a right to demand. The society is made up of individuals of both sexes, of all ages and conditions, and it is but reasonable to allow each friend of the cause to advocate it in the way that seems best to himself, provided he transgressed no rule of ordinary courtesy, or that degree of liberty which, under similar circumstances, we should consider it right to claim for ourselves.

In conclusion, I congratulate you, sir, on the hearty way in which you have come before the British public, as the champion of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and its high-minded leaders, feeling assured that the more you know of their mode of action, and their personal character, the more convinced you will be that you have only anticipated the gratitude and judgment of posterity.

I am, sir, your obedient servant, A. B.

THE LONDON MORNING CHRONICLE.

AN editorial article from the *London Morning Advertiser*, of June 30th, occupies a portion of the first page of the present number. It relates to the Anti-Slavery movement in this country, in its only vital form, and gives to that movement its sympathy and good will—evincing not only great kindness of spirit, but a deep solicitude that nothing may be unnecessarily said or done by the advocates of the slave to prevent a general union for his deliverance. It revives some reminiscences connected with the disgraceful mob in Boston, in 1835, when five thousand *soi disant* 'gentlemen of property and standing' assembled to break up, by ruffian violence, a meeting of Anti-Slavery ladies, and to provide GEO. THOMPSON with a coat of tar and feathers, if not to murder him outright. The commendations bestowed upon that heroic and distinguished woman, MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, were never better deserved. The personal references to myself are generous, frank, magnanimous—some of them being of such a nature as to require at least a passing notice from me, in this connection.

The editor of the *Advertiser* says—'With regard to Mr. GARRISON, we know of no man who has been more fiercely assailed, or more cruelly villified, in this country; and that, too, by those very persons who have arrogated to themselves the title, *par excellence*, of the friends of Anti-Slavery.' He intimates that these malignant assailants have 'circulated all manner of sinister reports' respecting my private character; so that, as he candidly acknowledges, he was himself impressed with the conviction that I was a man whose private character would not bear examination!!! 'We believed,' he adds, 'that, so far was he from being, in the private relations of life, all which could be desired, *his habits were so dissolute* that it became a legitimate question, whether even the most zealous abolitionist, *who respected moral rectitude*, would be justified in associating with him'!!!

I confess this is a revelation of personal malignity towards myself exerted to an extent, and exhibited in a shape, unequalled by any thing I have experienced even at the hands of my bitterest enemies in this country. Called at an early period of my life to stand in the forefront of the conflict with the Slave Power, for more than twenty-two years I have been more widely calumniated, more constantly denounced, and more fiercely assailed, by the press and the pulpit, by priests and politicians, by formalists and bigots, by the traffickers in human flesh and their vile abettors, than any other man living. No parallel to this treatment can be found in the personal experiences or historical transactions of the nineteenth century. It was the boast of Ireland's great champion, DANIEL O'CONNELL, that he was 'the best abused man of his times'; but, much as he was ridiculed and aspersed, his pathway was strewed with flowers, in comparison with my own. To cheer him onward, he had the plaudits and cooperation of eight millions of his own countrymen—he was a popular man with the masses in England and Scotland, or, if not popular, he had at least a strong hold on their sympathy and respect. Religiously, he suffered no persecution. His conflict was with a government not of the people, and from that quarter he experienced no small amount of persecution. How I have been called to stand, and what of reproach and hostility it has been my lot to receive, for almost a quarter of a century, it is not for me to describe here. Why do I refer to this? To crave sympathy, or magnify my position? No. But this I say—that, while I have been continually denounced, by the enemies of freedom, as a fanatic, an incendiary, a disorganizer, and a heretic, throughout the United States, neither Southern diabolism nor Northern malevolence has ever impeached my moral character, or ventured to assail me 'in the private relations of life.' That depth of baseness has been reached only by some persons abroad—by those, according to the *London Morning Advertiser*, 'who have arrogated to themselves the title, *par excellence*, of the friends of Anti-Slavery'!! The 'leading men connected with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society' are implicated in this wickedness. If I may rely on the testimony of the truest friends of the slave in England—and from my personal knowledge of the temper and conduct of the man—the Secretary of the Society, the Rev JOHN SCOBLE, has been unscrupulous and unrelenting, for the last ten years, in his assaults upon my religious character and public career—every where, and with fiendish perseverance, representing me as too vile to receive the slightest countenance or aid from the pure and good, and especially from those who desire to see the extinction of American Slavery! But all these stabs have been made, assassin-like, in the dark: these calumnies have been whispered in the private ear, or communicated, *sub rosa*, to this or that circle, in this or that quarter, with the most mischievous consequences.

Formerly, this cruel asperser professed to be my faithful friend and warm admirer. On my first visit to London, in 1833, no one was more zealous in behalf of my mission than himself. The cause of the change in his feelings is owing to priestly arrogance and sectarian exclusiveness. That change, as far as I can trace it, was coeval with the dismemberment of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1840, on sectarian grounds. In the attempt made at that time, by a clerical clique of his own peculiar faith, to suppress freedom of speech, narrow the Anti-Slavery platform, and put a padlock upon the lips of those noble women who felt divinely impelled to plead for the deliverance of a million of their sex from the accursed lash and a polluting bondage, he fully sympathized, and has ever since done what he could, in the most covert and dastardly manner, to destroy all confidence in myself personally, and all sympathy with the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the minds of British philanthropists and Christians.

His connection with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery *Reporter* has been such as to keep the great body of its readers completely in the dark as to the labours, and triumphs over a pro-slavery public sentiment, of the American A. S. Society. Indeed, their knowledge of such a Society is mainly, if not exclusively, derived from some disparaging notice of it as an heretical and unchristian association! How it is more terrible to the Slave Power than 'an army with banners'—how its meetings excite general uneasiness and violent commotion among the pharisaical, the time-serving, the advocates of complexional caste, the lewd and disorderly, the profane and mobocratic—how quenchless is the zeal, indomitable the courage, self-sacrificing the spirit, truly reverential the feeling, and exemplary the character of the tried friends of the slave who rally around its standard—the *Reporter* studiously keeps from their knowledge. In this respect, the course of that journal has been mean, contemptible and fraudulent in the extreme. But it is assidious in its endeavours to make the British public believe, that 'the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,' (the offspring of baffled priestcraft and vanquished sectarism,) is the great efficient instrumentality for the abolition of American Slavery; when, in fact, that Society holds in the whole country but one meeting in the course of the year,—and that, too, as a matter of form, adroitly-making use of the great anniversary season in May to collect an audience together; when it keeps not a single lecturing agent in the field; when it is without an official organ; when it has no auxiliary associations: when its receipts and expenditures are too insignificant to be laid before the public eye; and when its very existence and entire management are concentrated in one man—LEWIS TAPPAN, who long ago lost the respect and confidence of the true Abolitionists of the country.

Dismissing this portion of the article from the *Morning Advertiser*, I turn to what the editor says on another point, 'prompted,' as he avers, and of which I have no doubt, 'by the same regard for truth and justice' which he exhibits in his vindication of myself from various groundless charges. Rejecting the accusation of others, he abruptly becomes my accuser, and, as such, must be held to a strict accountability. What is his charge? That my Anti-Slavery principles are defective? No. That I have compromised the rights of the enslaved, or in any instance lowered the standard of duty one hair's breadth? No. That I have grown timid, or indifferent, or unwilling any longer to bear the heat and burden of the day? No. That my appeals are not to the conscience of religious sentiment, but based on expediency or mere political economy? No. What, then, is it? Listen to it—'His [my] views on religious subjects are not in harmony with divine revelation'!! Surely, this is is a summary judgment, seeing no proof whatever is adduced! Surely, on theological points, no man may assume to be 'Sir Oracle,' or put on the robes of infallibility! What my 'views on religious subjects' are, the readers of the *Morning Advertiser* are left to imagine, and to misconceive or exaggerate according to the activity of their imagination or the injustice of their bigotry; excepting, indeed, as they are further told that 'he [Mr. Garrison] rejects altogether the claims of the Scriptures to the character of an inspired book.' But here, again, no proof is given. Here, too, we have a question wholly distinct from that of undoing the heavy burdens, and letting the oppressed go free—one exclusively pertaining to the verbal or plenary inspiration of a particular book! And, what is curious enough too, this extraneous question is brought forward in connection with the Anti-Slavery cause, for the purpose of pronouncing a heavy judgment against me, by a gentleman, who, in the same breath, laments that I cannot consent to let the cause of emancipation rest on its own merits, without mixing it up with my peculiar religious views! Now, believing him to be friendly in spirit, and actuated by the purest motives, I beg leave to submit to him, most respectfully, the following interrogations:

1. That thou sayest, A man should not steal, dost thou steal? If I ought not to express my views of inspiration, because I am opposed to chattel Slavery, ought you?

2. What do you mean by 'divine revelation,' and how do you know or prove that my religious views are not in harmony with it?

3. Do you know, or can you intelligently surmise, what are the religious sentiments or practices, or what is the character or conduct of any man, because he professes to receive 'the claims of the Scriptures to the character of an inspired book'? Do you know, can you imagine, what such a man will make of the book, or to what sect in religion or party in government he must belong? If not—and certainly your answer must be in the negative—then why attach such vital importance to that which really determines nothing?

4. What is it that the Bible reveals, and who shall authoritatively decide that point? Does it sanction Freedom or Slavery—peace or war—absolute equality or hereditary supremacy—a republican, monarchical, or autocratic form of government—baptism in this or in another form—consubstantiation or transubstantiation—the five points of Calvanism or the thirty-nine articles of the Established Church—Presbyterianism, Methodism, Quakerism, Unitarianism, or Universalism? Or does it sanction them all, as circumstances shall seem to require? Who are in the right, and who are cherishing 'vital errors' in regard to these things?

5. Is not the right of private judgment and individual conscience the sheet-anchor of Protestanism; and does it not for ever preclude all assumption of religious infallibility, whether on the part of the individual or the community, of Church or State? Who, then, shall dogmatically pronounce what is 'divine revelation,' or what are 'the claims of the Scriptures to the character of an inspired book'?

6. Is truth dependent upon the entire authenticity of any book? Are human duties, relations, responsibilities, to be ascertained by an appeal to Hebrew or Greek manuscripts—by ancient opinions, teachings, usages—or do they not grow out of the nature of man, and pertain to the living present rather than to the dead past?

I make these inquiries to show that the issue made by the editor of the *Morning Advertiser*, instead of relating to absolute justice and eternal right, is shadowy, intangible, and abstract, and therefore admits of the largest catholicity of spirit and the widest scope for speculation, without affecting what is really true and vital.

'What we complain of,' he says, 'and lament in Mr. GARRISON is, that, in the advocacy of the holy enterprise in which he has embarked with his whole heart and soul, he should, *on so many occasions*, gratuitously obtrude his peculiar views on religious subjects. Why cannot he, in his capacity of an Anti-Slavery advocate, put his theological notions in abeyance'?

What *I* complain of is that one so evidently fair-minded as himself should grossly misrepresent me in this manner, through false impressions derived from a hostile source; for the reverse of what he alleges is the exact truth. It is not true that I have on 'many occasions,' or on any occasion, 'gratuitously obtruded my peculiar views on religious subjects,' on the Anti-Slavery platform, or in any discussion of the question of Slavery. No man has been—no man could have been—more scrupulous than I have felt against mixing up extraneous matters with the Anti-Slavery movement. I have always resisted any effort of the kind, come from what quarter it might, and been eager to take by th hand men of every variety of religious opinion, in order to effect the emancipation of those held in bondage. Though deeply interested in many other questions, I have given myself to the cause of the have with a steadfastness, fidelity, and completeness, which have never been excelled on either side of the Atlantic.

As for putting my theological notions in abeyance in my capacity as an Anti-Slavery advocate, having always done so, I have nothing to alter in this respect; for more than twenty years, I have been identified with the *Liberator* as its editor, a journal be it ever remembered, which has never been the organ of any Society, but published independently on my own responsibility—and I have yet to write the first article, setting forth my 'theological notions'! Hence, the charge that I have gone out of my way 'unnecessarily to obtrude them upon the public' is as far from the truth as possible. It is the outcry of those in this country, who 'steal the livery of the court of heaven to serve the devil in.' For the mischief of the Anti-Slavery cause which has grown out of the wicked misrepresentations of my religious views, whether at home or abroad, by its open enemies and pseudo friends, let the responsibility rest where it belongs.—*Liberator.*

THE CHURCHES *vs.* SLAVERY.

EIGHTEEN slaves escaped lately from Lewis county, Ky., into Adams county, Southern Ohio, and day having surprised them in their flight northward, they sought concealment in an old sugar-house, hoping to remain there unnoticed, until night should again cover the earth and conceal them from the eyes of every one, save the sentinel stars who bear lamps to the feet of the fugitives, and of God, who beholds, with approval, the advance pioneers of the second grand Exodus of his oppressed children. Weary, worn, and trembling, as if they had committed a crime, these eighteen men, women, and children huddled down in the solitary ruin of the sugar house, in order to hide themselves from the daylight, that lay like a glorious presence in the free State of Ohio, and in order to conceal from republican freemen their flight—their *hegira*—more worthy of remembrance than that of a thousand Mahomets, and grateful to the soul of every freeman, because it was the evidence of their deep, abiding unextinguishable love of liberty. Now animated by hope, now trembling with fear, those eighteen poor outcasts, lately fallen among thieves and escaped, lay and listened to the whistle of the free winds, the carols of the free birds, the rustling of the leafy trees, and the placid hymning of the streams

ruthlessly consigned to eternal bondage. These Satanites, after the commission of this diabolical act, were indicted before the church, by some one, conscious, seemingly, of Christian duty, even in that connexion, in Southern Ohio; and the result was, their acquittal of having done any unchristian act, and their consequent retention in the church. This case in addition to its essential demonism, both as regards the participators in it and their abettors in the church, is what we may safely characterise as an *infidel-making* case. Upon the ingenious mind of youth, this conduct of professing Christians is calculated to produce the most disastrous effects. The youth seldom reason. They are guided more by sentiment and intuition than by reflection, and we have, again and again, heard condemnations of CHRISTIANITY from their lips, because of such deeds being done under the shadow of her ostensible temples, and with the assumed sanction of her holy name.

Oh, who can estimate the terrible vengeance which eternal justice is now taking upon the general morality of this nation, because of the continuance of Slavery. Who can tell how deeply and efficiently the deep damnation of reaction is eating into the core of this great Republic's moral life, because churches, baptized with the name of Jesus, like the priest and Levite of old, will not see the poor, ignorant, brutalized, chattelized Americans, who have fallen amongst the chivalry of the South, but pass by on the other side. Christianity has a fearful reckoning to make with such churches.—*Worcester Spy.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

*** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

†‡ *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 7, 1851.

CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST OF AUGUST AT WORCESTER, MASS.

THE Anniversary of West India Emancipation was appropriately celebrated in the spacious Town Hall at Worcester, by a very large assemblage of the Anti-Slavery people of the heart of the Commonwealth.

The meeting was called to order by E. L. Capron, of Worcester, and on motion of Rev. S. May, Jr., the temporary chairman was authorized to appoint a nominating committee, to report a list of officers for the convention. The chairman named as that committee. Rev. Samuel May, Jr., Amos White, of Northbridge, Abijah Allen, of Milbury, Thos. J. Hunt, of Abington, R. F. Walcutt, of Boston.

The committee reported, and the meeting was then organized by the choice of the following officers:

President—ADIN BALLOU, of Hopedale, Milford.

Vice Presidents—FRANCIS JACKSON, of Boston; E. L. CAPRON, of Worcester; H. W. FOSTER, of Lowell; PARKER PILLSBURY, of N. H.; SAMUEL W. WHEELER, of R. I.; and ASA CUTTER, of Conn.

Secretaries—Geo. W. Putnam, of Lynn; Francis H. Underwood, of Webster; and James M. W. Yerinton, of Boston.

Committee on Business—W. L. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Stephen S. Foster, Edmund Quincy, Wm. I. Bowditch, C. C. Burleigh, Lucy Stone, Samuel May, Jr.

Committee on Finance—Lewis Ford, Joshua T. Everett, John H. Crane, Henry Fish, Austin Bearse.

The PRESIDENT opened the meeting by prayer, and followed by a rapid yet interesting sketch of the great movement which resulted in the emancipation of the British slaves. The happy results of emancipation were feelingly portrayed, and the condition of the freed-men vindicated from the misrepresentation. The safety of unconditional emancipation was the great truth taught by this act of tardy repentance. Allusion was made to the implied reproach towards the United States by thus glorifying an act of the British Parliament, but the reproach arose from the fact that we have *four times* eight hundred thousand slaves; and yet our Declaration of Independence contains the assertion of absolute rights which the British government have not pretended to recognize.

The cause in Great Britain was not successful from the efforts of Parliament, of its bench of bishops, or of its hereditary nobles and proud though untitled commoners. The origin and the progress of this beneficent measure were due to an exterior force of public opinion, which compelled the great and mighty, however unwilling, to do this act of justice to an oppressed race. The result will be the same in America. No ambitious men, none high in station or in influence will step forward to help a despised cause. But public opinion outside of Congress will at least, as in England, compel the people's representatives to repent and practically acknowledge the principles on which the government is professedly built.

Mr. BALLOU was listened to with marked attention and his earnest manner, and lucid style rendered his speech at once impressive and convincing.

Mr. GARRISON from the Committee on Business reported the following resolutions which were laid on the table for discussion.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. Resolved, That the experience of thirteen years, since eight hundred thousand slaves in the British West India Islands were decreed their freedom, has given the lie to all the evil predictions which were made before the consummation of that glorious act, by those who arraigned themselves against the Anti-Slavery movement.

2. Resolved, That instead of cutting the throats of their former masters, conflagrating their estates and leading vagrant and anarchical lives, the emancipated bondmen have sacredly respected the rights of property, shed no blood, committed no outrage, made no retaliation for the barbarous treatment to which they were so long subjected, but have demonstrated their capacity to acquire knowledge, accumulate wealth and enjoy Liberty.

3. Resolved, That all uncertainty is ended, as to the successful working of West India emancipation by two pregnant facts: first, that whatever may be the present condition of those colonies whether pertaining to labour, revenue, education, personal security, morality or religion, the planters attribute no evil consequences to the act of general manumission, and express no desire for the reestablishment of Slavery, on any pretence; and, secondly, the emancipated make no complaints that they are no longer marketable property, driven to their daily toil under the lash and robbed of all their earnings, but are manifestly well satisfied that they are free to lie down or rise up, to labour or rest, to work for whom and where they please, on the best terms they can make, to help enact the laws and shape the government and take their rightful position among mankind.

4. Resolved, That the admirable manner in which a people so long degraded, outraged and enslaved passed from a state of chattleism to one of absolute personal freedom and have since conducted themselves, conclusively proves that instead of their being of an *inferior race* by creation, they are worthy to take their place by the side of any other people, and that all they need to attain a high point of civilization is equal rights and privileges with those who have so long conspired for their brutal subjection.

5. Resolved, That obedience to the divine command, "undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free," is sure to be attended by a fulfilment of the divine promise, "Then shall thy light break forth as the morning and thy health shall spring forth speedily and the Lord shall guide thee continually and satisfy thy soul in drought and make fat thy bones; and they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places; thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations, and thou shalt be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in."

6. Resolved, That in the rapid rise to social and political equality with the whites of the coloured population in the West Indies—occupying as many of them do the foremost rank in enterprise and business capacity, in stations of trust and honour sharing largely in governmental favours—the world is furnished with a practical refutation of the doctrine, that prejudice against a coloured complexion is innate and invincible, that the white and coloured races cannot live together on equal terms, and that the colonization of the negro is essential to his elevation in the scale of civilization.

7. Resolved, That we would gratefully recall to mind on this occasion the untiring zeal, indomitable courage, unfaltering faith, unsurpassed devotion and self-sacrificing philanthropy of those noble men and women in England, by whom this sublime achievement was wrought under God, after a long and desperate conflict with the Throne, Parliament, the West Indian proprietors and and an artful colonial policy; that among this worthy band, circumstances conspire at this time to demand a particular reference to the indefatigable labours and irresistible appeals of GEORGE THOMPSON, by whose presence and co-operation we have been so recently cheered in our struggle for the extinction of Slavery on our own soil, whose eloquent denunciations of American slave traffickers are more terrible to them than "an army with banners," and to whom we proffer our most grateful and affectionate remembrance.

8. Resolved, That it is never to be forgotten at any commemorative celebration of this kind that the doctrine of *Immediate Emancipation*, by the enforcement of which the huge system of West India Slavery was suddenly overturned, was first promulgated by a *woman*, and therefore be the name of ELIZABETH HEYRICK held in everlasting remembrance.

[The allusions in the above resolutions to George Thompson and Elizabeth Heyrick were received by the audience with enthusiastic applause.]

9. Resolved, That the grandeur of the spectacle that meets our eyes, in emancipated Isles of the Sea, deepens the shame and horror that we feel in contemplating more than three millions of our own countrymen held in the galling chains of chattel Slavery—the hopelessness of their condition as to any prospect of speedy deliverance; the amazing depravity which is evinced by their enslavement on the part of the nation, the satanic hostility which so universally prevails to the Anti-Slavery movement; the vast resources, daring purposes, impious demands, and ever victorious efforts of the Slave Power; the treachery of the Pulpit, the recreancy of the Press to the cause of liberty, universally; at the same time we derive from it new incentives to persevere in our glorious cause—discouraged by no obstacles, alarmed by no disparity of numbers, confident of ultimate success, relying on the simple proclamation of the Truth, and remembering that the "battle is the Lord's," not ours.

10. Resolved, That the guilt of this nation has no parallel; that by their Declaration of Independence the American people are proved to be political hypocrites of the basest description—and by the gospel of Christ the most daring of transgressors, to whom are strictly applicable all the denunciations spoken, and all the judgments threatened against oppressors alike in the Old and in the New Testament.

11. Resolved, That assembled here in public convocation with the shouts of a redeemed multitude reaching us from the Islands of the Sea, and the shrieks of millions in our own land yet held in bondage penetrating our ears, we solemnly consecrate ourselves anew to the cause of universal emancipation; and proclaim to the whole country our determination not to be beguiled or intimidated into silence, or conciliated by compromise, or overawed by a fear of consequences, but inscribing on our banner, "*Fiat justitia ruat cælum*," and relying on God for victory, we shall continue the conflict until liberty is proclaimed throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof, or our voices are stilled in death.

WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH of Boston, was called upon to address the meeting, and was received with hearty applause.

The speaker commenced by contrasting the men who celebrate the first of August with those who glorify the 4th of July. On the one hand, the reverend Clergy, the President, the Senators, the Governors of States and other men of station assemble to listen to the inflated accounts of the country's greatness; on the other hand are merely fanatics, brawlers and infidels. But to such religion as has been developed since the enactment of the Fugitive Slave law, we are infidels. We are infidels to the religion which would prompt a Dewey to send into Slavery the mother that bore him—infidels to the gospel preached by a Gannett who would shut his door against a fugitive, who would hide *not* the outcast, and bewray him that wandereth. The mis-called patriots glorify our country for the vast extent of its territory, but the abolitionist cannot join in the strain, for he remembers that in all its vast domain there is not a spot where a slave may say, I am here safe from the pursuer. We boast of our great wealth, but the Abolitionist remembers that twelve hundred millions of it consists of slaves. The Clergy tell us of the superior religious advantages of our country, but we cannot forget that the slave has but little religion and his master less. We are reminded of the universal diffusion of education, and yet we cannot forget that a man is now under indictment in North Carolina for having given to a little girl a copy of the Ten Commandments.

Mr. BOWDITCH then proceeded in a masterly analysis of the pretended *foundation* of Slavery. The right of the slave to his freedom being demonstrated, the duty of his holder is clear. And God in his providence always joins the path of duty with that of safety: whatever is right is safe. The experience of the West Indies is conclusive upon this point. In Antigua where the slaves were 15 to 1 compared with the whites, the slaveholders themselves voted for unconditional emancipation in preference to the 12 years of apprenticeship. At 12 o'clock on the day freedom the slaves assembled, but not for vengeance, for conflagration and butchery; no, they fell on their knees and received the boon of freedom in prayer.

The results of West Indian emancipation were fully stated, and the objections of pro-slavery men triumphantly answered. The speaker showed that previous to the act of emancipation the island was doubly bankrupt. The resident proprietors were hopelessly in debt, and the resources of the island drained by absentees. Now 100,000 negroes own and cultivate three acres each upon an average. The diminution of exports is attributable to various causes, but the condition of the island on the whole is not retrograding but the contrary. Twice as many acres of land have been improved as were under the system of Slavery; and the exports of the United States to the island have been increased from $1,700,000 to 4,000,000 per annum.

The speech commanded the fixed attention of the audience no less from the great amount of valuable information it contained, than from the zealous and enthusiastic style of the speaker. At the conclusion there was a very general and marked demonstration of applause.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, of Connecticut, followed in his usual style of forcible and brilliant rhetoric. It is impossible to give a sketch of his speech; only two points will be mentioned. The probable ancestry of many of the English race was alluded to while discussing the Fugitive Slave law; and the well-known condition of labourers of all classes in the remote period when those names, indicative of mechanical occupations, originated, was graphically described. Thus *Mason, Wright, Smith, Webster*, were all names indicating their several ancestors to have been Anglo-Saxon slaves or thralls. And what slaveholder of this day regards the labourer, even the African labourer, with any more hearty contempt than the proud Baron or wealthy Franklin felt for the servile and brazen-collared peasant of the middle ages? If the descendants of these Saxon slaves have thus, in process of time, risen to the Bench and the Senate, what may prevent a similar development for the now despised African?

In the Scriptures the character which Jesus most blessed is the very opposite to that worn so boastfully by the Anglo-Saxon race. Meekness, forgiveness, patience, forbearance, long-suffering—these are the virtues on which the choicest blessings of Heaven are promised. The Anglo-Saxon is fierce, impetuous, resentful; and not only so, but boasts of this antagonism to the precepts of Jesus. That African race is the reverse is true; and in this race, now so contemned, rests the germ of a better Christianity than that which now bears the name. For when these acknowledged traits are refined by education, ennobled by freedom, and sanctified by religion, the African will stand in a nearer relation to the Divine Author of Christianity than any race to whom its blessed precepts have been preached. And if Slavery be a divinely appointed school, or period of discipline necessary for the development of the African, as some pro-slavery advocates assert, then by its very end and purpose the system cannot be perpetuated. God never intends that any *mere school* should be perpetual, nor has he ordained that any race should be vassals forever.

The speaker closed amid the applause that always attends his earnest and effective eloquence.

In the afternoon, addresses were made by Parker Pillsbury and Wendell Phillips. It is not deemed necessary here to give sketches of their efforts, as a phonographic reporter was present, and *The Liberator* of next week will probably contain a full report. It may be observed, however, that the massive, strong sense and stern logic of the one, and the glorious eloquence and kindling enthusiasm of the other were never more effective, never more heartily applauded.

The Resolutions were adopted by a unanimous vote.

Mr. GARRISON took occasion to correct a false and malicious statement circulated by Hunker papers concerning Mr. Pillsbury, charging him with sacrilege in burlesquing the ordinances of religion. The charge was shown to be wholly without foundation.

The exercisses were then closed by singing an appropriate hymn

In behalf of the meeting,
G. W. PUTNAM,
F. H. UNDERWOOD } *Secretaries.*
J. M. W. YERINTON.

FUGITIVE SLAVES IN ENGLAND.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

SIR—Since the separation of the American provinces from the mother country in 1776, many thousands of slaves, escaping from the Southern States, have sought a refuge and a home in Canada; and the "Fugitive Slave Law," recently enacted by the American Congress, has already added greatly to that number, so that the fugitive population is now estimated at about 80,000; and as these people are mostly without education, and have but little knowledge of mechanical branches, they find many difficulties in the way of getting employment and thereby earning for themselves an honest living.

This being the case, many of these people have, within the past six or eight months, come to this country, seeking employment and that liberty and protection which is denied them in their native land. On reaching England, they find similar difficulties in the way of getting employment that they had to encounter in Canada, and they, therefore, become a burden to the benevolent or inmates of the unions. I wish, Sir, to call the attention of those interested in the West India estates to this fact, and to suggest the propriety of adopting some measures to secure the services of as many of these fugitives as may feel inclined to go to the West Indies.

Having been a slave myself in the United States for more than 20 years, and being prevented from returning on account of the Fugitive Law, and knowing that most of the fugitive slaves have been accustomed to the raising of cotton, sugar, rice, and such other products as are raised in the West Indies, I am satisfied that a proposition of this kind would, if made upon fair terms, meet with a favourable response from my down-trodden and enslaved countrymen, and thereby be a benefit both to the owners of the West India estates and these fugitive slaves. I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

WM. WELLS BROWN.

22, Cecil-street, Strand, July 3.

The above letter we find in the London *Times*, and the suggestion of Mr. Brown, we hope, will arouse the attention of the West Indians to the condition of the fugitives from Slavery on this continent. With that class of our countrymen it is almost an imperative necessity to get beyond the reach of their country's laws, and many of them would, doubtless, prefer the milder and more congenial climate of the West Indies to the more severe one of Canada if they had the liberty of choice. The difficulty of getting them there might be overcome if any provision was made for them on their arrival; and should all obstacles to their emigration be done away, it is by no means improbable that many free coloured persons would seek a new home there, and an asylum from the many ills to which they are subjected in the land of their birth. Those who are in favour of a Colonization of the coloured people for their own benefit, rather than for the perpetuation of Slavery, may find in such a scheme room enough for the exercise of their benevolent disposition.

We think, however, that Mr. Brown is mistaken as to the condition of these fugitives in Canada. The climate, if our information be correct, is the main obstacle they have to encounter. That is a hardship to natives of a Southern latitude, but, putting that aside, they find very little difficulty in gaining a comfortable subsistence when disposed, as they all are, to work for it.

COALITION.

THE two wings of the Whig party of this State, the Silver Greys and those who, God knows why, have assumed to be Anti-Slavery Whigs, have agreed to compromise their differences by a joint State Convention for the nomination of candidates to be held at Syracuse on the 17th of September next. This coalition was made last week at Albany by the combined labours of the two State Committees of both sections of the party and a Committee of the Whig members of the Legislature. By the resolutions passed at this meeting it seems that the ground of the Compromise is this—that one party shall do nothing against Slavery and the other shall say nothing in favour of it at this present moment when the slave-power is pleased to rest satisfied with what it has got. It will be time enough to make a new platform when new exaggerations shall demand new acquiescence. For the present this will answer under which to bury all demonstrations against Slavery and negro-catching:

That the Whigs of the State, as a body, are inflexibly opposed to the subjection of any Territories of the United States now free, to laws imposing involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime, and they rejoice that no proposition to that effect is now pending or is likely to be presented; while, at the same time, they unqualifiedly acknowledged the right of every sovereign State to regulate its own municipal institutions in such manner as its people may deem most conducive to their safety and happiness, without interference, directly or indirectly, by citizens of other States, or subjects of other countries:

That the Whigs of this State, will abide by the Constitution of the United States, in all its parts, and that they will receive its true meaning and construction from the judicial tribunals it has created for that purposse; and will always sustain and defend such decisions, as the law of the land, until they are reversed by the same tribunals:

That laws of Congress and the State Legislatures, pronounced constitutional by the judicial tribunals, must be enforced and implicitly obeyed; and that while this is cheerfully recognized as the duty of all, as subjects of the laws, yet that the right of citizens, as voters, is equally undeniable to discuss, with a full and mutual regard for the rights and interests of all parts of the confederacy, (which is as necessary now to maintain, as it was indispensable to achieve the blessed Union of these States,) the expediency of such laws, and the propriety of any of their provisions, and to seek by constitutional means their repeal or modification:

That all who are animated by a sincere desire to preserve the Union unimpaired, and the free institutions which it sustains and guarantees, by which alone individual security and national peace and prosperity can be perpetuated, must condemn all attempts to resist, defeat, or render ineffectual, any laws passed by constitutional majorities of legislative bodies, in either the Federal or State Governments; and that the Whigs of New York will ever be found prompt to render a patriotic acquiescence in all such laws:

That the National Administration is entitled to the confidence and support of the Whigs of New York, for the eminent ability and patriotism which have characterized its measures, for its successful management of our foreign affairs, the generous sympathy it has exhibited towards an oppressed people struggling for freedom—the force and dignity with which it has maintained the right to indulge such sympathy, and with which it has rebuked the threats of an imperious government to violate the immunities of an accredited public agent; and the determination it has evinced to repress and defeat all movements tending to impair the public faith, and all unlawful enterprises calculated to disturb the public peace and provoke civil war, or to sever or weaken the relations of any State with the Union.

It is perhaps necessary to explain, lest these not familiar with politics, and Whigs politics particularly, that the last Resolution refers not to those individuals of "an oppressed people who are struggling for freedom" by running away from Slavery, nor yet to that sympathy which the administration may feel for private citizens who are tarred and feathered in the Southern States for indulging in private conversation upon the acts of imperious governments, but to the temper which the Government displays towards the peculiar institutions and laws of certain despotic rulers on the Continent of Europe.

SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

CHATTEL Slavery—there is enough of another sort still left in the Old Bay State—was abolished in Massachusetts to a great extent by the declaration that all men are created free and equal. When the British troops left Boston, some other things also left the province, from that moment really a free State. That chattel Slavery, however, was a very different thing in Massachusetts before that time from what it is now in our Southern States we have some interesting evidence in the following petition which the Boston *Commonwealth* has recently published. We do not mean to claim any great merit for our Puritan ancestors for a virtue which was perhaps, after all, in a measure, one of climate and other circumstances, but we should, nevertheless, like to place it to the credit of Southern slaveholders of our day that any Peter or Sambo among them was permitted to send such a Petition as this to the Assembly with their sign manual affixed thereto:

BOSTON, April 20th, 1773.

SIR, The efforts made by the legislative of this province in their last session to free themselves from Slavery, gave us, who are in that deplorable state, a high degree of satisfaction. We expect great things from men who have made such a noble stand against the designs of their *fellow-men* to enslave them. We cannot but wish and hope sir, that you will have the same grand object, we mean civil and religious liberty, in view in your next session. The divine spirit of *freedom*, seems to fire every humane breast on this continent, except such as are bribed to assist in executing the execrable plan.

We are very sensible that it would be highly detrimental to our present masters, if we were allowed to demand all that of *right* belongs to us for past services; this we disclaim. Even the *Spaniards*, who have not those sublime ideas of freedom that English men have, are conscious that they have no right to all the services of their fellow men, we mean the *Africans*, whom they have purchased with their money; therefore they allow them one day in a week to work for themselves, to enable them to earn money to purchase the residue of their time, which they have a right to demand in such portions as they are able to pay for (a due appraizment of their services being first made, which always stands at the purchase money.) We do not pretend to dictate to you Sir, or to the honourable Assembly, of which you are a member: We acknowledge our obligations to you for what you have already done, but as the people of this province seem to be actuated by the principles of equity and justice, we cannot but expect your house will again take our deplorable case into serious consideration, and give us that ample relief which, *as men*, we have a natural right to.

But since the wise and righteous governor of the universe, has permitted our fellow men to make us slaves, we bow in submission to him, and determine to behave in such a manner, as that we may have reason to expect the divine approbation of, and assistance in, our peaceable and lawful attempts to gain our freedom.

We are willing to submit to such regulations and laws, as may be made relative to us, until we leave the province, which we determine to do as soon as we can from our joint labours procure money to transport ourselves to some part of the coast of *Africa*, where we propose a settlement. We are very desirous that you should have instructions relative to us, from your town, therefore we pray you to communicate this letter to them, and ask this favor for us.

In behalf of our fellow slaves in this province,
And by order of their Committee,
PETER BESTES,
SAMBO FREEMAN,
FELIX HOLBROOK,
CHESTER JOIE.

For the Representatives of the District of Stoughtonham.

VICTOR HUGO ON SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE *Evening Post* translates from the [Paris] *Evenement* the following letter from Victor Hugo to Mrs. Chapman who is now in London. The *Post* says the letter was written 'in compliance with the request of a Mrs. Chapman, who is reported to entertain a deep interest in the Anti-Slavery cause in this country.' We have heard such a report, and the editor of the *Post* may learn how it got about by turning to an article from a London paper on our first page. As Mrs. Chapman and her family have been welcomed, during their stay for the last three years in Paris, into the most distinguished literary circle of that city, the letter of Mr. Hugo probably was the spontaneous result of the intercourse in society, not a communication made to order and 'by request' as the *Post* seems to think:

MADAME: I have scarcely any thing to add to your letter. I would cheerfully sign every line of it. Pursue your holy work. You have with you all great souls and all good hearts. You are pleased to believe and to assure me that my voice, in this august cause of Slavery, will be listened to by the great American people, whom I love so profoundly, and whose destinies I am fain to think, are closely linked with the mission of France. You desire me to lift up my voice.

I will do it at once, and I will do it on all occasions. I agree with you in thinking that within a definite time; that within a time not distant, the United States will repudiate Slavery with horror. Slavery in such a country! Can there be an incongruity more monstrous. Barbarism installed in the very heart of a society which is itself the affirmation of civilization; liberty bearing a chain; blasphemy echoing from the altar; the collar of the negro chained to the pedestal of Washington! It is a thing unheard of. I say more, it is impossible. Such a spectacle would destroy itself. The light of the nineteenth alone is enough to destroy it.

What! Slavery sanctioned by law among that illustrious people who for seventy years have measured the progress of civilization by their march, demonstrated democracy by their power, and liberty by their prosperity! Slavery in the United States! It is the duty of this republic to set such a bad example no longer. It is a shame, and she was never born to bow her head.

It is not when Slavery is taking leave of old nations, that it should be received by the new. What! When Slavery is departing from Turkey, shall it rest in America! What! Drive it from the hearth of Omar, and adopt it at the hearth of Franklin! No! No! No!

There is an inflexible logic which develops more or less slowly, which fashions, which redresses according to a mysterious plan, perceptible only to great spirits, the facts, the men, the laws, the morals, the people; or better, under all human things, there are things divine.

Let all those great souls who love the United States, as a country, be re-assured. The United States must renounce Slavery, or they must renounce liberty. They cannot renounce liberty. They must renounce Slavery or renounce the Gospel. They will never renounce the Gospel!

Accept, Madam, with my devotion to the cause you advocate, the homage of my respect. VICTOR HUGO.

6 Juillet, 1851, Paris.

REV. DR. LOWELL.—We mentioned, last week, the Rev. Dr. Lowell as one of those clergymen whose name, we thought, might be added with propriety to the list included in the English Resolution of commendation of American Unitarian Clergymen. Though Dr. Lowell is, and has always been, associated in our mind with the theologians of the liberal school in New England, we should not, therefore, have numbered him among Unitarians. With them, as such, he has no connection; and he equally disclaims any other sectarian denomination, except it be that of Congregationalist, and that he acknowledges only so far as it concerns the organization and government of the Church, and not with any reference to doctrine. Though we may not, therefore, properly call Dr. Lowell by any sectarian name, we are none the less, but rather the more, entitled, because he wears no other name than Christian, to claim him as Anti-Slavery. That he is decidedly and earnestly opposed to Slavery and to the Fugitive Slave Bill, we know; and he opened with prayer, we recollect, the meeting that was held in Boston in opposition to the abominable law for recapturing fugitives.

GENERAL AGENT FOR THE WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—The last No. of the *Bugle* announces that Mr. J. W. Walker has consented to act as General and Financial Agent for the Western Anti-Slavery Society. That he will prove as efficient in his new field of labour at he has as a lecturer, no one can doubt who knows him. His extensive acquaintance with Abolitionists, says the *Bugle*—his familiarity with the whole field—his energy and unflagging devotion to the cause, qualifies him for the work. It is hoped, adds that paper, 'by this arrangement to secure more unity, promptness and efficiency of effort, and of consequence more success. Now is the time for labour. The people everywhere are agitated with the question. Whigs, Democrats—the church cannot, all combined, put the subject to rest. Our business is, with wathfulness and zeal to direct the agitation, and guide it to the highest possible results.'

Domestic Correspondence.

FROM OUR BOSTON CORRESPONDENT.

NO. LXXXV.

THE ARGUMENT.—*The First of August at Worcester—The Enemy's country—Anti-Slavery Strategies—Advantages—Raw Materials—A good rule—Donnybrook and Vanity Fairs—Meteorological Malfeasance—Its effect on the Meeting—Boston Influence—Tests of Virtue—Organization of Meeting—Mr. Bowditch's Speech praised—The Red Lion, the Angel and the Prince of Denmark—A Sign to Unbelievers—Mr. Burleigh's Speech—Mr. Pillsbury's—Smylie on Paul—Pillsbury's Commentary—Apostolic Slavecatching—The Correspondent disserteth on Stage-coaches and Steam—And compareth the former days with these—Visionary Schemes—Mr. Adams on Railways—The Spontaneous Combustion of Mr. Webster—Young Groton—The Farm School—The State Reform School—Rebuff—The State's Prison—A proper Spirit, &c., &c., &c.*

BOSTON, August 4th, 1851.

We celebrated the First of August, last Friday, at Worcester, according to our custom for several years. A proposition had been made and considered of holding that Festivity at Salem or Lowell, or some other place, by way of carrying the war into different quarters of the enemy's country. For, unluckily, we can hardly march in any direction without finding ourselves in hostile territory. But, upon the whole, the convenient centrality of Worcester overcame the arguments in favour of a change in the plan of our campaign, and we fought it out in our old Flanders. There is this advantage about our Enterprise, which, indeed, attends every moral Movement, that, go where you will, to city or to country, you are sure to find human beings, which constitute the Raw Material of our manipulations. A Soul is a Soul wherever we may come across it, and as our Mission is one preaching Repentance and Flight from the Wrath to Come, it is of no particular consequence whereabouts we utter our voice, if we do but cry aloud and spare not, while we are about it. Paddy's rule at Donnybrook Fair is not a bad one, being interpreted into the allegorical or spiritual language, "wherever you see a head, *hit it!*" It is by following this rule, according as Grace has been given them, that the Abolitionists have succeeded in making such a wholesome stir in this Vanity Fair in which they find themselves on their Pilgrimage to the Celestial City.

The weather rather misbehaved itself. It did not actually rain, but it looked spitefully like it, and no doubt deterred many timid saints from going up to the City of Jubilee. The trains carried pilgrims, from all directions, at half price; the inventor of which device for softening the rigours of such service might contend for the prize with the famous Boiler of the Peas. But the numbers that availed themselves of this Indulgence, from Boston, was not great. We were therefore agreeably surprised to find, on our arrival at the spacious City Hall, that it was well filled by an audience from Worcester and the surrounding country. It was a proof that "Boston Influence," though it has very generally carried the day at Conventions held in that hall, is not always omnipotent; for had it depended upon that metropolis for its success, the Celebration might have been a failure. As it was, it was a decided Success. The room, large as it is, was nearly filled in the morning and quite so in the afternoon, which was a gratifying proof of the interest felt in the Occasion, as the time thus given to it had a calculable money value. I was not present at the evening session, but have no doubt that the hall was thronged. But an evening meeting is not such a test of virtue as one in the day time, as then the work of the day is done and its leisure may as well be bestowed upon an Anti-Slavery Meeting as anything else. Especially as nowhere else can the Yankee taste for good speaking be so well and so cheaply gratified. In this respect, our expectations were more than met.

The Meeting was organized by the appointment of Adin Ballou as President, who took the chair with some appropriate remarks. After prayer by the President and Selections from the Scriptures by Mr. Garrison, William J. Bowditch, Esq., addressed the Convention in a very excellent speech. And not only excellent, it was also appropriate—which our First of August Speeches are not always. The particular exigencies of the Cause in this Country, at the particular time, is apt to be seen through the Speciality of the day, as the Red Lion of the Sign-painter of One Idea *would* show through the Angel, how angelic soever it might be, and give a local and American complexion to the occasion. This is natural and, within reasonable limits, proper; but I have been present at Meetings on the First of August at which the part of Hamlet seemed to have been omitted by particular desire. This fault, however, could not be found with this celebration. Mr. Bowditch took up the various popular objections to Immediate Emancipation and refuted them by the actual workings of the West Indian experiment, and gave a lucid sketch of its progress and results. To an unbelieving generation, afraid of truth and trembling in the presence of principles, a Sign has been vouchsafed. But, it has been of no avail. It is predetermined not to be convinced, and History herself, when she shows herself in the garb of Philosophy teaching by such Examples as like not the disciples or the multitude, finds that, like Wisdom, though she utter her voice in the streets, yet no man regardeth her.

Mr. Bowditch was followed by Mr. Charles C. Burleigh, who enforced the same truths, in his usual felicity of reasoning and illustration. After an Anti-Slavery hymn, the singing of which Songs of our Zion interspersed the proceedings throughout, the meeting adjourned. In the afternoon, Mr. Pillsbury opened the session with one of his racy, spicy, original orations, in which strong common sense is relieved by a vein of sterling humour, by flashes of wild wit, and passages of true eloquence and pathos. He particularly enlarged on the sermon of the Rev. Dr. Smylie, an eminent Southern Presbyterian divine, on the Epistle of Paul to Philemon, contained in your last paper, on the first page. If, peradventure, any of your readers pretermitted its perusal, I advise them to deprive themselves of that happiness and edification no longer. You can imagine how Mr. Pillsbury would show up the new doctrine that this Epistle was a Slave advertisement, that Paul expected a reward, especially as his conversion would make Onesimus more profitable to his master, and prevent his escaping again, having "been purged by the Holy Ghost of the Abolition principles which had caused him to run away!" And the final gloss, as if Paul would have liked to have owned Onesimus himself, if he might! The Exegesis of Mr. Pillsbury was given with great unction, and I cannot but think was fruitful of edification and growth in grace. I was compelled by business to leave the meeting during his speech, and so lost the hearing of Mr. Phillips and the other speakers. But you will see a report of the whole in this week's *Liberator*, I suppose, as I saw a ready writer busily engaged in his vocation.

The business that took me from the meeting also took me above twenty miles into the country by stage-coach. I believe this is about as far as one can travel by that species of "leathern Convenience," in this State, in these days of Rails and Steam. It certainly seemed like going back twenty years to be going forward on the box seat of a stage-coach at the rate of eight miles an hour for three hours. It absolutely seemed like a personal injury, although the teams were good and the coaches unexceptionable. One can hardly realise how short a time it is since the New England stage-coaches were the *ne plus ultra* of fast and luxurious travelling. And now they are almost an extinct race. Only twenty years ago, Railways were as much a visionary dream as Emancipation is now. People took stock in them, when they were first proposed, as men volunteer to lead a forlorn hope. The possibility of general advantage was admitted, but the idea of personal remuneration scouted at. I well remember hearing no less sagacious a person than John Quincy Adams vastly amused at the idea of the Worcester Railway when it was first suggested. "The Providence Railway may pay," said he, "for the whole Southern travel must go that way; and the Lowell road may answer, possibly, on account of the large amount of raw materials and manufactures that must pass over it. But who wants to go to *Worcester*? And what is to come from *Worcester*? Ha, Ha, Ha!" And yet, though then near seventy years old, he lived to see Massachusetts stretched, like another St. Lawrence, upon a perfect gridiron of Railways.

I am apprehensive that the Movement to make Mr. Webster President by Spontaneous Combustion must have had a wet blanket thrown over it. At least, a dead silence has shrouded it for some time past. The brag I told you of in my last letter, of the two hundred and forty-two signatures in the town of Dedham, has been somewhat discountenanced by the discovery that *sixty-six* of that number were the names of persons not entitled to vote, and that a considerable number of those entitled to suffrage cared so little about it as not to vote at the last election. They would probably have signed a paper to have Mr. Webster hanged just as readily as this. The only comfort which the subscribers to this political Raffle have received has been from the rising generation. I believe you have mentioned the glorious success of the Movement among the boys of the Lawrence Academy at Groton. I think one or two other Seminaries of learning have followed its example. I am informed, for I do not speak of my own knowledge, that, stimulated by these examples, some zealous patriots hastened to the island in the harbour where the Farm School (an excellent institution for the education of orphan and vagrant children) is located, to canvass the boys. The result is said to have been highly encouraging. But inasmuch as these lads are in a degree dependent on patriotic gentlemen in Boston for their support, it was apprehended that their subscription might not count for much more than those of so many factory agents and operatives. So another experiment was tried on the State Reform School at Westboro', a kind of Juvenile Penitentiary, and I regret to say that it signally failed. These young gentlemen, being secure of their places under government, scorned the job and declined indorsing for Mr. Webster to any amount. The State's Prison at Charlestown was next tried. But the residents there, with scarcely an exception, declared that, though unfortunate, they had still some of the feelings of gentlemen, and that a proper feeling of self-respect forbade them from putting themselves on a level with Mr. Webster. I have heard no farther particulars.—D. Y.

BALTIMORE, Md., July 28, 1851.

S. H. GAY, Esq—*Dear Sir:* A resident of Washington, and one who, when living at the North, was a subscriber to your valuable paper, wishes to say a few words through its columns, if, in your judgment, they possess sufficient interest. Before going to Washington, I was frequently told, by those who had travelled somewhat in the Slave States, that they—the slaves—were well treated; while others who had travelled in the South reported their treatment to be any thing but human. But nothing gives one better satisfaction than the evidence of his own eyes. I have seen something of Slavery in the District of Columbia, where it is said to exist in its mildest form. So far as I have witnessed—and I have taken some trouble to inform myself—the slaves are treated about the same as they treat their horses, and for the same reason, namely, personal interest. With some it is a matter of pride to keep their slaves in good condition, as, from the same motive, many keep smooth horses. The argument used by some, that the slaves are well fed and well used because it is the interest of their masters to take good care of their property, is good to a certain extent, if the treatment of a human being can be compared to the treatment of animals, although this argument would not be good in hundreds of cases; for who does not know that many a wretch abuses his own property? But, sir, this part of the question need not be dwelt upon, for, though it could be proved that the slaves are generally well treated, it would not, for one moment, justify Slavery. I have heard men say, "Slavery is a greater curse to the white man than to the black." Surely, it is cursing the interest of all parties. It is a curse in its very nature. "God has so ordered it that you cannot trench upon any, the humblest, meanest link in the great chain of humanity, but the injury will reach the higher link, and draw all down with it to destruction." I am not one who believes Slavery a greater curse to the white man than the black; but it is a great curse notwithstanding. Let a man travel through Virginia or Maryland, and witness the backward state of agriculture and the mechanic arts, and he will readily agree with Clay—"You cannot trench on the rights of any"—no, not even of the "humblest, meanest"—without injuring both parties. The state of agriculture, in every direction from the Capital, gives evidence of the mournful fact, this is a land of Slavery! The roads are narrow and unimproved; the fences poor, and hedged in on both sides by briars and bushes; the houses poor, and very many built of logs; and the white portion of the population, many of them, little super

was an act too tyrannical to be borne. "Give me liberty, or give me death!" was the watchword! And what was the tyranny of a Tea Tax, or a Stamp Act, compared with the tyranny of the Slaveholder? The author of the Declaration of Independence said, "one hour of American Slavery is worse than ages of that which our forefathers rose in rebellion to put down." Did not Thomas Jefferson know what he was saying? And was his veracity ever doubted? Yet, in the face of such testimony, we are told, "our slaves are better off than the labourers of the Free States!" An assertion not worthy to be contradicted, as it must come from a pitiable object of humanity, at best. Who else would compare the condition of a slave with that of a labourer at the North? Let a labourer of a Free State, after the toils of the day, be compelled to eat such food as is allowed the majority of the slaves—often not enough, and then in a miserable hovel—and see if every feeling of his nature would not rebel against it! Ye who love liberty and hate oppression, what say you, when, in a country which makes loud professions of its Republicanism, three millions of human beings are held in a bondage, "one hour of which is worse than ages of that which our forefathers rose in rebellion to put down!" And you, ye labourers of the North, what do you say, or rather what would you say, were you in a bondage one hour of which is worse than ages of that which your forefathers rose in rebellion to put down? Would you mildly endure it? Would you submit that the fruits of your toil be torn from your grasp? that Heaven's first decree from God to man be contravened by human law? that the produce of your labour should first be given to the idle and profligate? Would you submit silently to all this? Not as long as the blood of Revolutionary Fathers courses in your veins! Let some slaveholder propose that you accept the condition of his slaves, and your feelings would revolt at the base and insulting proposition. It would be fortunate for the villain who dared to make it that he escaped your vengeance. The condition of society is such in the Slave States that few men from the Free States will live there, even under the most favourable circumstances. Rather let me, for a livelihood, delve in the sterile hills of the North than live in the most inviting clime surrounded by the "pomp and luxury of Slavery." When I have stood on the portico of the Capitol and looked down in the streets of Washington, under the very shade of its wings—under the flag that floats proudly over it—I saw the toiling slave! Higher up, from its lofty dome, I have cast my eyes beyond the Potomac, far as the resting-place of Washington, and not a solitary inch of soil free from Slavery's curse could they find for a resting-place? From the soil of the Old Dominion I withdrew them, not, however, with disappointment, but with feelings of disapprobation and disgust! Were it not that we are all children of one common Father, and all subject to human failings and human imperfections, I would wish never to associate with one who attempts a justification of American Slavery. If silence is ever a crime, it is when three millions of human beings are kept in bondage. While I have a heart susceptible of feeling, and a tongue that can speak, I will not be silent while Slavery lives on American soil. I have no feeling of hatred towards master or slave. He who would have Slavery abolished is the true friend of all—the white man as well as the black. It is a wish first in my heart that Slavery may speedily come to an end. Then, and not till then, will the great principles of Republicanism shine forth, like this morning's sun, in all their brightness and glory! G. C. B.

HARTFORD, Conn., August 1st, 1851.

FRIEND GAY: What are the people of New York doing to-day? Are they as they were yesterday, and as they will be to-morrow? Do they make no difference between these three days? Do they not know that there *is* a difference, whether they make any or not? But they *did* make a difference, when the Fourth of July came, between *that* day and the ones before and after it. Do they not know that the First of August is a much greater and more glorious day than the Fourth of July? And why, then, do they not signalize it, by bestowing upon it at least *some* of the attention which they were so eager to heap upon the late national Anniversary?

What are the facts? On this day, a few years ago, 800,000 human beings, who had been held as slaves in the British West Indies, were, by an act of Parliament, forever set free from their chains. This was an infinitely more wonderful event than would have been the *birth of so many children* on those Islands that day, for each one of those slaves was a *brute* before, but was then born into a man. What a change! To have been a beast—a mere clod, that might be trampled under foot, and ground to the dust, and bartered for base gold, and made a thing of naught—and all at once to start up into an immortal man! Was there ever such a metamorphosis before? First it was down, down, down, from God to a dog—from a being made a little lower than the angles, and crowned with glory and honour, to a level with four-footed beasts and creeping things; and now—O, joy!—it was *back* again! It was being elevated from those lowest depths of dishonour and degradation—being taken up out of the horrible pit and miry clay, and re-established upon the original platform of humanity, as indeed belonging, by the ordination of the Creator, to a

'Sky-born, sky-guided, sky-returning race!'

This is the greatest and most glorious event of modern times; and it is the first of our *facts*.

The second is, that our own Slavery is the greatest and the blackest *sin* of modern times. Nothing has ever equalled it before, and full well do we know that nothing can ever equal it again. No piracy can match its scenes of horror and blood. If France had a Reign of Terror once, we have a Reign of Terror always. If cruel wars have sometimes been carried on in other countries, one *more* cruel and relentless is waged in this country at *all* times. If a Tyrant ever ruled his trembling vassals with a rod of Iron till he made himself a very Scourge, *twenty millions* of tyrants are joint rulers of this realm, for they have all conspired against the three millions of slaves, and they are more terrible to them, in their utter helplessness, than, to the effeminate tribes of Italy, war he who was called "the Scourge of God!" *Our* Slavery is far worse than that of the West Indies, and it is sustained by those who have infinitely less excuse. It is the pet system of the whole land—the creature of the Union—the child of the Church—the consecrated by the priesthood—the baptized into the name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost. One might suppose, therefore, that all classes of the people would unite to put down this sin, and that they would be on the alert to embrace every occasion that offered to stir up the common enthusiasm against it, to the highest possible pitch.

Where, then, are the dwellers in New York City to-day? Where are they, that they do not celebrate the First of August? Where are the *soldiers*, who could march through the streets, four weeks ago, to the sound of drum and fife, and cannon, that ey have forgotten to be on duty in honour of the event which has rendered *this* day so much more illustrious than the one which so lately witnessed their grand parade? Where are the Mayor and Aldermen, and what has become of the Public Dinner which the very mention of their names suggests, with its 'glorious fixings,' its speeches and its toasts? Where are the flying flags, and waving banners, and long processions, and formal orations? Where are the fireworks, the sailing excursions, the rides on the railroads, the ringing bells, the grown-up men burning gunpowder, and the *miniatures* throwing crackers? What has become of all these? And where are the ministers of religion, that they do not call their flocks together, and lay open before them the great sin of Slavery, and conjure them, in the name of God, to fight against it and put it down? Where are all the lawyers, and other public speakers, that they do not collect the people at the corners of the streets, if need be, and harangue them on the impolicy and disastrous results of this "great American System?" And why could not some of our *great* men have been invited to deliver appropriate orations. Daniel Webster was invited to some less than fifty places on the Fourth of July: why could he not have been invited to as much as *one* on the First of August? It might have done even *him* good to have made a speech to-day, and at least what he said would have the merit of being a *literary curiosity!* In one word, why are not all the people, to-day, moved, as by one common impulse, to follow the example of Old England, and *abolish Slavery?*

O, ye to whose ears may come some report of this humble newspaper article, be ye editors, lawyers, clergymen, or merchants—*whoever* ye may be—why do ye not imitate England—why do ye not abolish Slavery?

JOSEPH TREAT.

Communications.

THE TRIBUNE, THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE, AND COLONIZATION.

FRIEND GAY:—The following answer to the *Journal of Commerce's* "Sum in the Rule of Three," of July 23d, was submitted to the Editor for insertion, who, after having carried it in his pocket for one week, refused to publish, and, what is still worse, would not give his reasons for so doing. I asked Mr Hallock if he would be kind enough to publish my answer; his reply was, in a snarling tone (characteristic of all who are engaged in a bad cause), "you c-a-n-t h-a-v-e i-t published;" I appealed to his sense of justice as a conductor of a public journal, inasmuch as he had given the influence of his paper in favour of colonization, whether he would give the other side of the question a hearing, and more particularly an answer to his query; "you c-a-n-t h-a-v-e i-t, it is of no use; w-e w-o-n-t h-e-a-r you." Such, sir, is the language of the pious successor of the late *David Hale*, who, in his life-time, so generously gave me yearly one-half the price of the Journal of Commerce for the benefit of the Coloured Sailors' Home, on condition that I would pay the yearly subscription in advance, which I have done for the last ten years. Well, sir, after being refused a hearing by the author of the question in his paper, I supposed the *New York Tribune*, so full of zeal for the cause of the oppressed of all nations—its solid columns teeming with foreign and domestic animadversions against European tyranny—that so-called popular journal, would at least give the poorest of God's poor a chance to be heard. But not so. Mr. Dana, the responsible editor, it is true, did at first consent to publish my reply to the Journal's query, but, after a hurried glance at its character, he too, like his prototype, indignantly refused to permit his columns to be used for even this humble attempt to defend an injured and much abused people. Editing newspapers, however, is sometimes, it seems, like preaching and politics; that church people, or party, who pay the less salary have more fire and brimstone to endure in hell, and have less redress of grievances than those who pay the most money. So concluding that Mr. Dana's sympathy for the wrongs of the coloured man only needed a little quickening, and that his conscientious scruples of injuring the cause of Colonization would yield to an argument which, with some men, can remove anything, without further parly I offered him five dollars, and got for pelf what neither pity nor principle could purchase.

I think it was Thomas Jefferson who said that "error of opinion must be tolerated whilst truth is left to combat with it;" but according to Tribune ethics, error of opinion shall only be tolerated whenever the poor man has dollars enough left to combat it with. God bless the absent editor now on a tour to Europe, and by last accounts on a pilgrimage to the holy city, to receive the editorial Pallium from the hands of Pio Nono for his services rendered in behalf of the spread of Romanism in the United States. Horace Greely, on return home, will astonish the natives with his new titles—His Grace Archbishop Horace Greeley. Where's Bennett—the Napoleon of the press? Of a truth, of the two renegades of a venal press, struggling with all their might and main to suppress the liberty of speech—the freedom of thought—the right of opinion—I would rather occupy the position of J. G. Bennett, than either Horace Greeley or his substitute. "Bennett" is the open declared and eternal foe against the coloured man's freedom and equality, but Greeley is secretly trying to seduce the great and good from the paths of Justice, Mercy, and Truth. Verily, they have their reward.

[ADVERTISEMENT.]

To the Editor of the Journal of Commerce:

Audi Alteram Partem.

In your paper of July 23d you propound the following question:

"A SUM IN THE RULE OF THREE.—If voluntary emigration, *as a principal cause*, has in ten years reduced the population of Ireland from 8,175,124 to 6,515,794, (a decrease of 1,659,330,) how long would it take the Government of the United States and of the individual States, aided by private benefactions, to remove 3,000,000 slaves to the land of their fathers, or so many of them as are willing to go?"

This sum, if answered, at the North or at the South, is subject to a review of facts. At the North it is understood to be the object of the American Colonization Society to colonize emancipated slaves. At the South, the slaveholder is made to believe that the fundamental principle of the Society is to remove all the free blacks out of the country, whose presence among the slaves render them dissatisfied and discontented with their condition. I think the sum is not fairly *stated*; and by your permission I will endeavour to work out an answer according to the unde stood received opinion. While the Government of the United States has not directly aided the Colonization Society pecuniarily, it has indirectly favoured the scheme in every possible way. Individual States North and South have appropriated funds, and, in several States South, free coloured people are taxed, or a fine imposed, for remaining in the State, which fine or tax in some cases goes into the colonization fund.

For the last thirty-four years from private benefactions, bequests and public collections, not less than $8,400 000 has been given to the Society in behalf of this humbug scheme of American christianity. In the absence of documentary evidence, I venture to say that the agents of the American Colonization Society never paid the Africans more than $100,000 for their lands. Add to this another $100,000 expended for powder, ball, cannons, cutlasses and fire-arms, in order to christianize and bring into subjection African heathens, "that the word of God," through these instrumentalities, "may run and be glorified." Again for the sake of argument, I will admit that in thirty-four years the Society has colonized 6,800 persons, or two hundred per year, and I believe I am not far from the truth. Further, the natural annual increase of the coloured population in the United States is 90,000. Now, with all the facilities at the command of the Society, its vile malicious misrepresentations—its bitter hatred toward every free coloured man—its black-hearted villainous treachery—its hypocritical Jesuitical deceptions—its Psalm-singing snivelling crocodile tears, shed over the benighted heathens in Africa: numbering among its friends the first men in the nation, both in Church and State, what has this *calumniating* Society done? One would suppose that in its boastings what it could do, by comparing Irish emigration to African Colonization that, so much had been done toward removing this *scum of filth* and degradation to Africa, as they call us, that if the Government of the United States, individual States, etc., etc., would contribute more funds than they have done, *all* the blacks could be removed in ten years. But how many coloured people have they sent out of the country in thirty-four years? Why just *three weeks and five days'* increase of 90,000 yearly increase

There is, however, one more ray of hope left to beam around this rushlight of American Slaveholding Christianity. A Mr. Bryan, of Alabama, proposes to aid the Society in its false labours of love by running mail steamers to Africa, in which the Society will be able to colonize 2,500 persons annually. If Mr. Bryan should succeed in obtaining a charter and a loan of money from Uncle Sam for his Ebony line, it would then take the United States and all the auxiliaries you could hurry up from one end of the Union to the other just *thirty-six* years to remove one year's increase. Again, the number of coloured people, according to the census of 1850, is 3,795,496
Add to this number 36 years' increase . . . 3,140,000
And in 1887 you will have in this country a coloured population of 6,935,496

There is another obstacle in the way before the final accomplishment of this grand scheme, which I believe I have successfully shown is beyond your arithmetical calculation, that is, take the present number of slaves 3,795,496, valued at $400 each, or in the aggregate $1,318,198,000: this, Sir, to my mind, is the most important item in the whole *sum*, and the most tangible objection; one which will be an insuperable barrier against emancipation. Another objection in economy which lessens the force of your "sum in the rule of three."

The average cost of colonizing 1,659,330 Irish immigrants to this country in ten years, at the lowest figure, say $20 each, or $33,186,600. Well, the average cost to colonise 6,800 colored immigrants in 34 years to Africa, is $500, or $3,400,000. This sum, of course, includes purchase of territory and other incidental expenses. My final answer to this "sum in the rule of three," is, that voluntary emigration of the coloured population to Africa, is a question of dollars and cents—time and eternity. It never can be done.

WILLIAM P. POWELL.

OTSEGO BAPTIST ASSOCIATION.

WEST EXETER, Otsego Co., N. Y., July 28th, 1851.

S. H. GAY—DEAR SIR:

Having recently attended the Annual Meeting of the Otsego Baptist Association, and the Commencement of New York Central College, of recent Legislative notoriety, allow me to make a remark or two in reference to each.

The opening sermon at the Association was preached by Elder Gates, of Cooperstown, and was an odd mixture of progressive and conservative ideas. The theme was, "The minister that is approved of God." After informing the audience that such a minister must be one who practises the whole truth and nothing but the truth, he cautioned ministers against preaching certain "favourite truths" which have divided the churches and almost "cracked the denomination." Of course no one needed to guess long what those "favourite truths" were to which the brother alluded, but which he did not see fit to name.

The position of the Association on the subject of Slavery may be seen from the following Resolution:

"Resolved, That we believe American Slavery to be a sin against God; an evil of exceeding great magnitude, tending to promote pride, haughtiness, and immorality in the master; and tending to debase the slave, depriving him of the rights and privileges natural to man as a member of society and a creature of God;

"*That we cannot fellowship as Christians those who carry out the powers conferred upon them by the laws of Slavery;* and that we will labour and pray that this evil may be removed from our land and nation; and that that law called the Fugitive Slave Law may soon be repealed."

This was the shape of the Resolution when presented by the mover, Elder S. Wilder, of Springfield. Immediately after its presentation, a motion was made to strike out that portion which is in *italics*. This your correspondent, though not a member of the Association, yet speaking under the general invitation to visiting brethren to participate in the proceedings, saw fit to oppose. But his being the only voice in opposition, while many were in favour, the resolution passed with that clause left out. This shows them where "The old Otsego Association, the Mother," as she is called, "of all the other Baptist Associations west of Albany" stands. She can find no language too strong to denounce Slavery, but will fellowship as a Christian the man who practices slaveholding! Let your Baptist readers mark and ponder. The churches in that Association would doubtless, without hesitation, exclude the unrepenting stealer of a sixpence, or of a pocket handkerchief, but not the stealer of men. They would not, on any account, commune with the "baby-sprinkler," yet hesitate to say that they will not fellowship the "baby-stealer."

Being under appointment as an agent of the *American Baptist Free Mission Society*, I sought the liberty of presenting before the Association the Society's operations among the fugitives in Canada West, but failed in obtaining that liberty. For the information of your readers, allow me to say that this is the Society which sent Elder Edward Mathews into Kentucky to preach a pure Gospel, and for doing which he was lynched last spring. I make this remark because I saw it stated in one number of *The Standard* that he was the missionary of the "*Baptist Missionary Society*"—a very indefinite name. Besides, the *Am. Bap. Missionary Union* and the Am. Bap. *Home Miss. Soc.* might feel themselves injured by allowing it to be supposed that they would send any man on so unrighteous an errand as that of preaching an Anti-Slavery Gospel to the slaveholders of Kentucky, disturbing their feelings, and endangering the Union.

A very important question was started in the association, but had to go unanswered. Elder Teeple, of Morrisville, in presenting the claims of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society, said that the entire continent was the field of that Society's labours. Now, it is a notorious fact that that society cares as little for the slave population of the continent as do the inhabitants of Japan. No missionary is sent to them; no man cares for their souls. An Anti-Slavery brother on whom the sympathetic appeals of Mr. Teeple seemed to have had but little effect, and, perhaps, feeling a little waggish at the moment, as well as desirous to agitate the hated subject of Slavery, very gravely arose and inquired whether the slave population were a part of the inhabitants of this continent, or whether, seeing that the Home Mission Society had never sent any missionaries to them, and as far as he was informed did not intend to do so, they were to be regarded as foreigners? But the question could not be answered. Why? It may have been for the same reason that certain persons once declined answering a question put to them by our Saviour. The agent may have reasoned with himself thus: If I say the slaves are a part of the Home field, I will be asked why then does not the Home Society send the gospel to them? And, if I say they are a part of the foreign field, I will be asked why does not the Foreign Society attend to their spiritual wants? So it will be better to say nothing.

Having already filled my sheet I must defer my remarks about New York Central College till another time.

Yours, for the Truth,

GEO. G. RITCHIE.

FARMERSVILLE, N.Y., July 21st, 1851.

To the Editor of The Standard:

SIR—An Anti-Slavery Society was organized here through the exertions of Mr. Phileo, an Agent of the A. S Society, who lectured twice, and visited the Abolitionists at their houses; and, after much talk and persuasion induced a few Abolitionists to organize and meet once in two weeks, on Sunday, to discuss topics connected with the Anti-Slavery cause. We have met twice, and seemed to interest all who attended, though but few, and evinced a willingness to meet each other at regular intervals. This is more than we expected we could do, and is rather encouraging for the future; but time will tell what a few determined spirits can effect. You will probably hear again from us and of our prospects. E. RUSSELL *Cor. Secretary.*

P. S.—Our Society subscribed for a copy of *The Standard*, and purchased a small library of Anti-Slavery books.

Miscellaneous Items.

—AN ARMY IN A DAY.—In a little over twenty-four hours, commencing Wednesday morning and ending Thursday noon, *five thousand eight hundred and eleven* emigrants arrived at this port.

—COLOURED SOLDIERS.—Among the many parades within a few days we (*Tribune*) noticed (yesterday) a soldierly looking company of colored men on their homeward march from a target or parade drill. They looked like men, marched like men, manœuvred like men, handled their arms like men, and should occasion demand we presume they would fight like men. But the African has few reasons to become a soldier in this country.

—AUTHORSHIP OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL.—Mr. Mason and Mr. Butler are generally reported to be the authors of the Fugitive Slave Bill. We understand, however, that Mr. Underwood of Kentucky, in a speech to his constituents, has boasted that it was drawn up by himself and Mr. Mason. This is inconsistent with still another story, which we have heard, which declares this infamous measure to be the bantling of a cunning attorney of Virginia, by whom it was supplied to Mr. Mason.

The day is not far distant, when its authors and their children will wish all trace of its origin forgotten. The instrument of torture in the tower of London, known by the name of the unhappy nobleman, who was its inventor, as much illustrates his memory and does credit to his descendants as its counterpart the Fugitive Slave Bill will reflect honour upon those who have had to do with its origin.—*Boston Commonwealth.*

—VIRGINIA.—The following anecdote of the late Gov. James Barbour was told us by a gentleman who resides in the Piedmont region. Gov. Barbour was a candidate to represent his County in the State Legislature, and was opposed by an illiterate man named Davis. The Governor, in his speech on the hustings, said:

Fellow-citizens, I had the honour to represent my county for several years in the Assembly of Virginia; I was for some years Governor of this ancient and venerable Commonwealth; I was for a considerable time a representative of this district in the Congress of the United States; I had, fellow-citizens, at a subsequent period, the honour to hold a seat in the most august legislative body in the world—the Senate of the United States; at another period I had the place of the Secretary of the War Department in the administration of John Quincy Adams, and was afterwards Minister Plenipotentiary and Embassador Extraordinary near the Court of St. James; and now, fellow-citizens, you may picture to yourselves the humiliation that I feel at finding myself here to-day engaged in a damned little pitiful county contest with Tom Davis.—*South Side Democrat.*

—INCONSISTENCY.—It is not a little amusing to see denunciations in many papers of the late mob in California, when we remember that the same papers had not a word to say in condemnation of the mobs which collected to prevent George Thompson from speaking on the subject of Slavery. The *Philadelphia Ledger* and *Bulletin* have devoted two or three articles to the mob in California; but so far as we can recollect these papers did not say anything against the interference of the mob to prevent an Anti-Slavery meeting being held in their city. The principle of free discussion was there sacrificed and those papers acquiesced in the outrage. According to them, a mob in San Francisco for any purpose whatever, can only be productive of evil; but a mob in Philadelphia is not such a bad thing when the object to be attained happens to meet their approbation. We are not an admirer of George Thompson, but we are an advocate of free discussion, and that principle was just as much outraged by mobbing him, as it would have been by dragging a minister from either of the pulpits in our land. That he is a foreigner, is no justification of violence toward him; so long as he did not violate the law, he had the right to act as he thought best, the right to speak as freely as any American citizen, and he should have been protected in that right.

If a foreigner may speak on one subject, he has the right to speak on any subject he may think proper, so long as he does not violate the law, and even if he does that, the mob has no right to attack him so long as we have legal tribunals for the purpose of meeting out justice. If a foreigner may give us his views on religion, he may also give us his views on other subjects, and the people can either reject or adopt them as they think proper. A mob in Philadelphia to prevent the discussion of any subject is just as bad as a mob in California to prevent robbing. At least we can see no difference, though the *Bulletin* and *Ledger* may.

The press can shape public opinion on this subject as well as on any other, and the editor who panders to popular evils is unfit for the position he occupies.

It may not always be wise to violently denounce everything that does not meet your approbation, but every one should be decided in his views, and be ready to express them in moderate terms whenever an occasion may demand it. Those who run into extremes may do much good, but at the same time in some cases they lessen the field of their labours—curtail their sphere of usefulness. Men above all things should endeavour to be consistent, and thus show by their course of conduct that their professions are something more than sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.—*Delaware Republican.*

—FEMALE LYNCHING IN ILLINOIS.—A correspondent of the Ottawa (Ill.) Constitutionalist says:—On the 17th ultimo, in Livingston county, in this State, a man by the name of James Dickson, Sen., was arrested on a warrant issued by a justice of the peace, charged with having whipped and cruelly treated a girl eight years of age, who was living with him; and during his absence from home, when in attendance before the justice, some fifteen or twenty women of the neighbourhood assembled, and sent some of their party to the house of Dickson, who succeeded in decoying his daughter (a young woman about twenty years of age, who was also accused of ill-treating the child,) a short distance from the house, where they were joined by the remainder of their party. They then commenced whipping the young lady in a brutal manner, and after dragging her a considerable distance from the house, and over the fence, not yet satisfied with their inhumanity, nor their hearts softened by their victim's prayers and tears, applied a coat of tar and feathers, and after loading her with abuse, set her at liberty. At the time Miss Dickson was taken from the house, none of her friends were present except her mother, (who was confined to her bed by sickness,) and some small children.

—ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—A correspondent of the *Hartford Religious Herald* writes from Andover as follows: "I feel quite sure that the '*ultra views* of Prof. Stuart on Slavery, are not the views of the acting officers of the Seminary. There are few who fully sympathize with him; his best friends rather *apologize* for him."

—NEW CHIVALRIC PLATFORM.—The *Southern Standard*, published at Charleston, S. C., puts forth the following programme as proper to be adopted in the forthcoming State Convention, as a substitute for immediate Secession. It consists of six parts:

1. The affirmance of the right to secede; 2. The declaration that there is ample justification for secession; 3. That there is no hope of redress short of a complete disruption of the Union; 4. That South Carolina forbears for the present, because she is unwilling to force the issue on the other Southern States, until they are prepared; 5. That she will appoint a commission to make known her views to the other Southern States, and declare she will yet join any other State in an effort to obtain redress; and, 6. That it be recommended to the people that, in all their acts hereafter—the Legislature and the people—they "should look to a rupture with the Federal Government as inevitable at no very distant future."

—FROM the *Palmetto State Banner*, published at Columbia, S. C., we copy the following pathetic passage:

"The Union as *it was*, we loved; under its happy auspices we lived; for its preservation we could have died.

The Union *as it is*, we mourn.

The Union *as it will be, unless that God who caused Pharaoh to let the children of Israel go*, should by a like miracle change the heart of our oppressors—The Union *as it will be*, when aggressions abroad and submission at home have driven the south from the strongholds in the Constitution—

This Union we oppose, *this* Union let us dissolve, from *this* Union let us *secede*.

If this be treason, write us down as traitors."

The appropriateness of the allusion to Pharaoh and to the children of Israel, by this organ of the Carolina slaveholders, will be appreciated, when it is remembered that the miracles which God wrought on that occasion were wrought in behalf of FREEDOM, and to effect the emancipation of three millions of SLAVES—a number just equal to that of the Americans who are now held in bondage by the Slave Power.—*Boston Commonwealth.*

—VIRGINIA ENSLAVING A SHIPWRECKED MARINER.—Not long since, it will be remembered, we published the statement taken from the New Bedford *Standard*, of Capt. Card, of the British brig Commerce, of Windsor, Nova Scotia, saying that being bound to Portsmouth, Va., he got his vessel ashore on Wreck Island, where Thomas Scott Johnson, one of his hands, was apprehended and would have been sold as a slave had not the captain signed a bond of $500 to redeliver him, if no certificate of his freedom could be obtained in New Bedford, where he said he was born and brought up, and his mother now lives. Johnson referred the captain to Hon Wm. C. Taber and other very respectable citizens of New Bedford, who he doubted not were ready to testify to the fact of his freedom.

His history was all true. The necessary papers to establish the fact of his being a native of a free State, born of free parents, were drawn up by R. C. Pitman, Esq., and the documents signed by Mayor Howland, and others of our most respectable citizens, were forwarded pursuant to direction. This was about the first of July. The relatives of the man whose liberty was imperiled, and the humane citizens of N. Bedford have now the satisfaction to know that the efforts made were effectual in plucking him as a victim just ready to be offered to the Moloch of Slavery. The man is now free—at least he is safe unless kidnapped and forcibly robbed of his free papers.

But mark the meanness of the Southern champions of human bondage and their Northern lickspittles.—Having the virtue to be ashamed of an act which is practiced by no other Christian people on earth but the inhabitants of some of these Christian United States, and by a very few heathen, and the infamy of which the people of these States must be content to share with their rivals, the Arabs,—we mean the seizure and enslavement of a forlorn seamen, cast by adverse winds and waves, destitute and a stranger, upon their coast, they boldly undertook to deny it, and to say that the story was all a lie, got up by some "malignant abolitionist." As an instance, it is so stated in the *Richmond Whig*, but if the statement of the *Whig* be true respecting the laws of Virginia, (that he was legally amenable) it makes the case no better for poor, free, coloured men who may be exposed to her oppressions.—To the poor victim it is all the same, whether he is chained and scourged according to the mockery of legal forms or not. His hopes and heart will not be less speedily or less effectually broken in one case than in the other.—*N. B. Standard.*

—CHIEF JUSTICE SHEPLEY OF MAINE ON THE HIGHER LAW.—At the present term of the Supreme Court in Belfast, Judge Shepley, in his charge to the jury, took occasion to express his opinion on the duty of obedience to law. As it was a carefully written document, these opinions are presumed to be the result of a careful consideration of the whole subject. And though there seemed to be an attempt near the close of his charge, to break the force of his own reasoning, his opinions were expressed with such clearness, and in terms so explicit, that no subsequent argument could impair them. They answered the two questions so much discussed in this country since the passage of the Fugitive slave law.

Is the citizen bound to obey an unconstitutional law.

"A person may believe that an act of the legislature is unauthorised by the Constitution of the State, or of the United States; and the inquiry is presented whether he should obey it. It will be his first duty to ascertain, if possible, whether there is good reason to believe that his is a correct one. After obtaining the best information within his power, should he continue to be of the same opinion, he may assume the responsibility, disregard the enactment, and abide the consequences."

"The rule of duty is plain. A man may disregard a law which he believes to be in violation of the constitution, and abide the consequences upon his person or property; but he must not offer the least resistance to the regular execution of such a law, or incite others to do so, however severely it may act upon his person, property, or rights. He must seek redress through a regular course of legal proceedings."

Is a citizen bound to obey a law which he believes to be contrary to the law of God?

"A person may believe that an act of legislative body legally passed in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, by which it is governed, is contrary to the laws of God. The inquiry is then presented respecting his duty to obey it.

"His first duty is to ascertain whether the act is clearly and directly opposed to the divine law. When this has been ascertained clearly, as when for example, such an act should require him to hate and to kill his enemy, while the divine law declares "thou shall love thine enemies," and "thou shalt not kill," the human law is to be disobeyed, and the divine law obeyed. The person is not at liberty to obey the human law."

The terms in which these sentiments are expressed are worthy of especial notice. The right of private judgment, so contemptuously sneered at by Daniel Webster, and Judge Sprague, and Gov. Hubbard, is here, by Judge Shepley, expressly recognized. Each citizen is "to ascertain" and determine for himself whether any law is unconstitutional, or opposed to the law of God; and if after obtaining the best information he can, he continues to believe his opinion to be a correct one, he may disobey it. No decision of the legislative or judicial departments of the government is to stand between him, and his own determination of his duty, or to take his right to be his own judge in this matter out of his hands.

In these days, when the duty of unconditional submission and obedience is so extensively preached from the bench, and from the pulpit, it is gratifying to hear, from one high in authority, a distinct recognition of those great principles by which Protestants and Puritans have done so much for the rights of man.—*Portland Inquirer.*

—IMPORTANT TO SLAVE OWNERS AND OTHERS.—A case of considerable importance to Southern men, and involving some points of general interest, was decided by Judge Key, on Saturday. The plaintiff, Harper, was a farmer in Boone County, Kentucky, and the defendant was a well known coloured person of this city, named Keyte. A bill was filed by the plaintiff to foreclose a mortgage; and the defence was a want of consideration for the mortgage. The facts were these: The complainant had been the owner of three slaves—a man (the son of the defendant), a woman, and a child, the offspring of the other two slaves. The three were worth in Kentucky about $1,300. They escaped from their master and came to this city in 1849, where they were concealed. The master pursued, but was unable to discover them, and the defendant opened a negotiation with the complainant for the purchase of the three slaves. Finally, they were sold to him for $450, and a bill of sale executed in this city by complainant, in which he warranted that he had a good title to the slaves, but did not undertake to give possession of them. The defendant executed to him promissory notes for the payment of the money, and a mortgage, on which the suit was brought. The first point urged by the defence was that Keyte was deceived by the complainant, who was charged to have represented the female slave to be the wife of his (defendant's) son, both verbally and in the bill of sale, when in fact, as defendant claimed, she was not; next, that the plaintiff had warranted his title good to the slaves, when (as defendant insisted) at the time of the escape the man was not a slave. The third point of defence was, that a contract within the State of Ohio for the purchase of fugitive slaves, then within the State, could not be sustained under our laws.

In relation to the first point, it was held by Judge Key that the testimony showed that the verbal representations of complainant, in regard to the relations existing between the male and female slaves, were in accordance with the facts; that the statement in the bill of sale, that she was the wife of defendant, was mere matter of description; and, also, that according to the usages prevailing among slaves she was properly described as his wife.

It was held by the Court, in regard to the second point, that it appeared from the testimony that the male slave had once come to the City of Cincinnati, driving a wagon with his master, and had voluntarily returned on the same day—and that, although the slave might then, according to the rules of law universally recognized in the Courts of Ohio, have asserted his freedom, and could not have been compelled by his master to return, yet that, having voluntarily returned, the *status* or legal condition of the slave so returning to Kentucky remained, according to the decisions of the Courts of that State, without change. Upon the third point, the Court held that, it having been decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, in a case involving the same question, that the *status*, or legal condition of an alleged fugitive from service, was to be viewed according to the law of the State from which the escape was made; and the Constitution of the United States, and the act of Congress then in force (than which, as expounded by the United States Supreme Court, this Court knew no higher law), giving a right of recapture, such right of recapture was sufficient to sustain a contract of sale executed by the master in a free State conveying fugitives, then in such free State, to a citizen of such State. The Court further remarked, that the effect of such conveyance would be to place the fugitives at once in the condition of free persons, as completely as any other citizens of Ohio. A decree was accordingly rendered for the complainant for the amount of the mortgage notes.

[Cincinnati Commercial.

—PHENOMENA IN LAKE MICHIGAN.—Several times this season, the people of Chicago have been startled by the sudden rising of the waters of Lake Michigan to the height of several feet, without any apparent cause. On the 26th of July, according to the Chicago Journal, the lake played its antics all day, the water rising from two to four feet, every half hour or so, and as suddenly receding. At dusk, while the Lake was as smooth as a mirror, without wind or any apparent cause, the water rose to the height of four feet twice within an hour. What has caused this great commotion with old Michigan, is a mystery. It is certainly very unaccountable.—*Bulletin.*

—THE Boston Bee has lately set up the pretence that the name "whig" was derived from the initials of the motto of the Scotch Covenanters, "We hope in God"—W. H I G. The Commonwealth however suggests as a more probable origin that it was adopted from the Scotch word "whig," which means "sour milk." A correspondent, on the other hand, is of opinion that it is obtained from the initials of the appropriate motto, "We Hope in Gold."

—THREATENED TROUBLE WITH MEXICO ABOUT FUGITIVE SLAVES.—The Houston (Texas) Telegraph, of July 18th, contains the following:

Several persons who have lately visited the towns of Santa Rosa, Morelos, and the Presidio, for the purpose of re-capturing runaway slaves, have returned, and report that the fugitive slaves are harboured by the Mexicans, and in some instances force has been used to prevent our citizens from re-capturing these slaves. This has so exasperated many of the settlers at the west, that they are determined to raise a force sufficient to overpower all opposition, and re-capture their slaves at all hazards. At the last accounts a large party of armed Texians had assembled near Presidio, and threatened to attack the town if the fugitive slaves were not given up. It is intimated that there are not less than two thousand fugitive slaves in the Mexican towns between the mouth of the Rio Grande and Presidio. In Santa Rosa, there are forty fugitives who escaped from one plantation in Arkansas. The owner of them has made many efforts to induce them to return to Arkansas, but in vain. They boast that they are in a free country, and permitted to enjoy equal privileges with the Mexicans. We have been informed that about two hundred fugitives from Texas crossed at one of the principal ferries on the Rio Grande, during the last two years. We are informed that a company of ninety men, well armed and equipped, will soon be marched into Santa Rosa, if certain slaves are not given up, and we should not be surprised if five hundred or a thousand men should follow them, should they meet with opposition from the Mexican authorities. Our information is derived from such respectable sources, that we think there can be little doubt that difficulties are brewing on our western frontier, that may prove far more serious than those relating to the Cuban invasion. It may be well for the government to look well to this subject, and take timely precautions to prevent another rupture with Mexico.

—KENTUCKY.—The correspondent of the *Cleveland Free Democrat*, (who we suppose, is Rev. G. G. Fee,) writes from Lewis Co. as follows:

I have just returned from a short tour with C. M. Clay. He spoke in Maysville, (with a very limited notice from the Hunker press,) to a large audience, and a very attentive one, for more than two hours. Very respectful attention, with repeated cheers of approval. A lawyer declared the audience one of the best and most discriminating that had been gathered there for five years: and ——— said to me the next day, "After the election, we will organize a regular Anti-Slavery party in Kentucky. We can get forty thousand votes." Said he "I have heard a hundred men speak of Clay's speech, and they all speak approvingly."

Clay has demonstrated the fact that the evils of Slavery can be discussed in every County in the State He has visited and spoken in about eight Counties, and expects the candidate for Lieutenant Governor, Col. Geo. D. Blakey of Logan County, to canvass the remaining Counties. I suppose C. M. Clay will get from ten to fifteen thousand votes. I believe Slavery in Kentucky is destined to meet an overthrow, and perhaps speedily. It cannot stand before light, and light can now be carried to the minds of the people. I believe the signs of the time indicate the speedy establishment of a good paper, and we must have one.

—SLAVE ADDUCTOR ARRESTED.—The Richmond Republican, of July 29th, contains the following:

Officers Pearce and Johnson received information yesterday morning that a white man, who gave his name as George Williams, was offering a negro girl for sale under suspicious circumstances, at a disreputable house on Cary street, occupied by Martha Stevenson. They proceeded thither, and found him attempting to effect a sale of the girl to Mr. E. G Ponder, of this city. The officers took both W. and the negro in custody, and conveyed them to the Mayor's office, where the case was primarily investigated. From the evidence, and admissions of the prisoner and negro to the officers, it appears that the girl was purchased in this city some months ago from Mr Anslay Davis, by Mr. Marcus Royster, a trader, living near Young's ⋈ Roads in Granville county, N. C. He conveyed her to his plantation, where she remained until a few days since when Williams came along, and induced her to leave with him. He substituted boys clothing for that she was wearing, and directing her to answer to the name of "John," proceeded towards Virginia with her, travelling only at night. In course of time, he reached Petersburg, and taking the cars for Richmond, arrived here on Sun

Miscellany.

THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS QUESTION IN ENGLAND.

[*Concluded.*]

The professions of women in this matter remind us of the state offenders of old, who, on the point of execution, used to protest their love and devotion to the sovereign by whose unjust mandate they suffered. Griselda herself might be matched from the speeches put by Shakspeare into the mouths of male victims of kingly caprice and tyranny; the Duke of Buckingham, for example, in 'Henry the Eighth,' and even Wolsey. The literary class of women, especially in England, are ostentatious in disclaiming the desire for equality or citizenship, and proclaiming their complete satisfaction with the place which society assigns to them; exercising in this, as in many respects, a most noxious influence over the feelings and opinions of men, who unsuspectingly accept the servilities of toadyism as concessions to the force of truth, not considering that it is the personal interest of these women to profess whatever opinions they expect will be agreeable to men. It is not among men of talent, sprung from the people, and patronized and flattered by the aristocracy, that we look for the leaders of a democratic movement. Successful literary women are just as unlikely to prefer the cause of women to their own social consideration. They depend on men's opinion for their literary as well as for their feminine success; and such is their bad opinion of men, that they believe there is not more than one in ten thousand who does not dislike and fear strength, sincerity, or high spirit in a woman. They are therefore anxious to earn pardon and toleration for whatever of these qualities their writings may exhibit on other subjects, by a studied display of submission on this; that they may give no occasion for vulgar men to say (what nothing will prevent vulgar men from saying) that learning makes women unfeminine, and that literary ladies are likely to be bad wives.

But enough of this; especially as the fact which affords the occasion for this notice, makes it impossible any longer to assert the universal acquiescence of women (saving individual exceptions) in their dependent condition. In the United States, at least, there are women, seemingly numurous, and now organized for action on the public mind, who demand equality in the fullest acceptation of the word, and demand it by a straight-forward appeal to men's sense of justice, not plead for it with a timid deprecation of their displeasure.

Like other popular move, however, this may be seriously retarded by the blunders of its adherents.—Tried by the ordinary standard of public meetings, the speeches at the Convention are remarkable for the preponderance of the rational over the the declamatory element: but there are some exceptions; and things to which it is impossible to attach any rational meaning have found their way into the resolutions. Thus the resolution which sets forth the claims made in behalf of women, after claiming equality in education, in industrial pursuits, and in political rights, enumerates as a fourth head of demand something under the name of "social and spiritual union," and "a medium of expressing the highest moral and spiritual views of justice." with other similar verbiage, serving only to mar the simplicity and rationality of the other demands; resembling those who would weakly attempt to combine nominal equality between men and women, with enforced distinctions in their privileges and functions. What is wanted for women is equal rights, equal admission to all social privileges; not a position apart, a sort of sentimental priesthood.—To this, the only just and rational principle, both the resolutions and speeches, for the most part adhere. They contain so little which is akin to the nonsensical paragraph in question, that we suspect it not to be the work of the same hands as most of the other resolutions. The strength of the cause lies in the support of those who are influenced by reason and principle; and to attempt to recommend it by sentimentalities, absurd in reason, and inconsistent with the principle on which the movement is founded, is to place a good cause on a level with a bad one.

There are indications that the example of America will be followed on this side the Atlantic; and the first step has been taken in that part of England where every serious moment in the political progress has its commencement—the manufacturing districts of the North. On the 13th of February, 1851, a petition of women, agreed to by a public meeting at Sheffield, and claiming the elective franchise, was presented to the House of Lords by the Earl of Carlisle.

BURNS IN A PRINTING OFFICE.

Meanwhile the preparation of the new edition was going rapidly on in the printing office of William Smellie—a man, who like Creech, mingled literary labors with those attending one of the trades of literature. There was a vast fund of knowledge, shrewdness and talent, under the rude exterior of Smellie. In his office, at the foot of Anchor Close, he had done typographic duty for Gilbert Stuart, Robert Fergusson, Dr. Robertson, Hugo Arnot, Adam Smith, and many others of the recent and living literati of Scotland, all of whom had been his personal friends. His son Alexander, who lately died at an advanced age, perfectly remembered the visits of the Ayrshire Ploughman to the composing room, along which he would walk about three or four times, cracking a whip which he carried, to the no small surprise of the men. He paid no attention to his own copy under their hands, but looked at any other which he saw lying on the cases. One day he asked a man how many languages he was acquainted with. "Indeed, sir," replied the man, "I've enough adw'i' my ain." Burns remarked that behind there was one of his companions setting up a Gaelic Bible, and another composing from a Hebrew Grammar.—"These two," said the compositor, "are the greatest dolts in the house." Burns seemed amused by the remark, and said he would take a note of it.

Mr. Alexander Smellie also communicated the following anecdote:—"There was a particular stool in the office, which Burns uniformly occupied while correcting his proof-sheets; as he would not sit on any other, it always bore the name of Burns' stool. It is still (1844) in the office, and in the same situation where it was when Burns sat on it. At this time Sir John Dalrymple was printing in Mr. Smellie's office an "Essay on the Properties of Cold Tar." One day it happened that Sir John occupied the stool when Burns came into the correcting room, looking for his favorite seat. It was known what Burns wanted was his stool; but before saying anything to Sir John on the subject, Burns was requested to walk into the composing room. The opportunity was taken in his absence to request of Sir John to indulge the bard with his favorite seat, but without mentioning his name. Sir John said, "I will not give up my seat to yon impudent staring fellow." Upon which it was replied, "Do you not know that staring fellow, as you call him, is Burns the poet?" Sir John instantly left the school exclaiming, "Good gracious! Give him all the seats in your house!" Burns was then called in, took possession of his stool, and commenced the reading of his proofs.....At this time a portrait of the poet was in preparation for the adornment of the forthcoming volume. Alexander Nasmyth, a young artist residing close beside him in a place called Wardrop's Court, was good enough to paint it gratuitously. An engraver named Buego, much cleverer in his art than any man in Edingburgh, till a comparatively recent period, transferred the likeness to copper on the same terms. He took the greatest possible pains with the face, having the poet to sit to himself several times when it was finishing, and the result was a likeness which, notwithstanding a criticism passed on it by Sir Walter Scott, as will be afterwards noted, must undoubtedly be regarded as that on which the friends of Burns have set their stamp of approbation as the most faithful in existence, not even excepting Mr. Nasmyth's original. It has been remembered that, after the sittings for that original, Mr. Nasmyth and the poet would take a ramble together, not unfrequently to the King's Park, where Burns delighted to climb Arthur's Seat, and lying on the summit, gaze at its grand panorama of twelve of the principal Scottish counties. Having one night transgressed the rules of sobriety, and sat up till an early hour in the morning, they agreed not to go home at all, but commence an excursion to the Pentland Hills. Passing a cottage a few miles out of town, they heard a frightful noise within, and going up to learn what was the matter, found that the sound proceeded from a poor man whose reason had given way. Mr. Nasmyth used afterwards to describe in thrilling terms the appalling exclamations of the lunatic, and the effect which they had upon Burns. The two friends afterwards continued their walk to the hills, had a fine morning ramble, and having thus cleared off the effects of their dissipation came down to Roslin to breakfast. Burns, who was extremely hungry, found in Mrs. David Wilson's little inn such ample solacement, that in a fit of gratitude he scrawled a couple of verses on the reverse side of a wooden platter:

My blessings on ye, honest wife,
I ne'er was here before;
Ye've wealth o' gear for spoon and knife—
Heart could not wish for more.

Heaven keep you clear of sturt and strife,
Till far ayont four score,
And by the Lord of death and life,
I'll ne'er gae by your door!—*Life of Burns.*

NUCES LITERARIÆ.

I was pleased to see in the *Evening Post*, a few days since, a translation of that admirable speech, delivered by Victor Hugo, in defence of his son Charles, on trial for publishing what we here would esteem a very moderate article against capital punishments. This young man—I say young, for he is but about twenty-five years of age—is a very clever writer, as you may have inferred from the quality of the article which he was punished for writing, and he has had the good sense to avoid putting himself in the shadow of his illustrious father's reputation, by never attempting poety or romances.

When the revolution of February occurred, Lamartine took him into the employ of the government as a candidate for a diplomatic career, and when Bastide subsequently became ministers of foreign affairs, young Hugo was nominated Attaché to the French legation at Brazil, but not having a taste for exile upon such terms, he obtained permission to decline the appointment. Since then he has devoted himself to journalism, and is a regular contributor to the *Evenement* and *La Presse*. Hugo, like his father, has an unusually attractive person, though a little lame from a sword wound received recently in his knee in an affair of honor with young Viennot, son of the director of the *Corsair*.

Charles has a young brother, F. V. Hugo, now in the twenty-second year of his age, who is just making his debut as journalist. He inherits the talent of the family. He writes for the *Evenement* on Foreign Politics.

But it was not about the Hugos exactly that I intended to write when I took up my pen. Did you observe in the father's speech, to which I have referred, a rhetorical allusion to Lesurques? It occurs in the following paragraph:

"My son, you receive this day a great honour. "You are now worthy to combat, to suffer perhaps, "for the great cause of truth. From this day for- "ward you enter the true manly life of our time. "Be proud, you who are only a simple soldier of the "humane and democratic idea: you sit on the same "bench where sat Beranger and Lamennais. Be "firm in your conviction, and—this is my last word "—if you want an incentive to strengthen your faith "in progress, your belief in the future, your religion "for humanity, your horror of irrevocable and ir- "reparable penalties to make you execrate the scaf- "fold, think you sit where sat Lesurques."

I doubt if your readers, generally, realized the force of that allusion to Lesurques, and the rhetorical power given to the whole passage by recalling to the mind of the audience, under such circumstances, the melancholy fate of one who was the victim of the most extraordinary tissue of circumstantial evidence ever woven by fate to ensnare the innocent. As Hugo's rhetoric always repays the labor it costs to understand it, such of your readers as are not familiar with Lesurques' extraordinary conviction, will thank me for a brief account of what has been truly described as "a most deplorable illustration of the uncertainties of human justice."

Joseph Lesurques, the individual who is referred to in the above extract, was born at Douai in France, in 1763. He received from respectable parents his birth, a careful education, and elevated tastes. He served for a time in the regiment of Auvergne, which service he exchanged at the expiration of his term for a situation as the head of one of the bureaus of the district. He soon married a lady of good family in his vicinity, whose dowry, with the emoluments of his office added to his own patrimony, and some lucky speculations, yielded him a revenue of from two to three thousand dollars a year, a very elegant and independent fortune for any rural district in France. We mention all these incidents of his early career because they bear more or less directly upon the approaching catastrophe which soon overtook his fame and his life.

When in his thirty-third year, Lesurques resolved to establish himself in Paris, mainly for the purpose of educating his three children, and he accordingly rented apartments in the Rue Montmartre, of an old notary named Momet. Among his acquaintances was one Guesno, who kept a sort of stage office at Douai, and to whom he had lent a couple of thousand francs. Guesno visited Paris shortly after Lesurques arrived, and embraced the occasion to call and pay this debt. He likewise invited Lesurques to breakfast with him. Guesno lodged, while in town, with one Richard, like himself a native of Douai. This Richard, who was a dissipated fellow, was intimate with a man named Couriol, and was one of the guests at the breakfast, during the discussion of which Couriol came in and was invited to join them. This meeting took place just four days after the terrible event which I will now proceed to describe.

In the month of May, 1796, six individuals in Paris formed the project of robbing the Lyons mail coach on its way to the metropolis. The names of these men were Vidal, *Couriol*, Rossi, Durochat and Bernard. The last named, engaged to find saddle horses for his associates, but had no part in the execution of the horrible outrage, which was consummated on the 27th of the same month, May. The details of the crime were officially reported in the government paper, the *Journal de Paris*, very shortly after it occurred, for the purpose of putting a stop to the wild rumours to which such a bold and desperate disregard of the penalties of the law naturally gave rise. We will translate this report, word for word, because it was written and published by the government before subsequent blunders on the part of the judges had led to that distortion of facts by means of which they escaped the proper expiation of their rashness and malignity. The report ran thus:

"The assassins of the Lyons Courier were five in "number, one of whom occupied a seat at his side." [This was Durochat, who, on the 27th May, had taken a place in the mail coach of Lyons, under the name of Laborde.] "The four others had left Paris "in the morning of the same day on horseback. "Three of them had each, one empty valise, and the "fourth had two. They were seen passing Ville- "nevre-Saint-Georges. They were well dressed "young men; they dined at Montgeron, and after- "wards stopped at Lieursaint. One of the company "there adjusted his spurs, of which the chains had "become broken. Arrived at the place appointed, "they concealed themselves in the darkness of the "forest awaiting the arrival of the mail coach, which "in due time approached. Seizing the convenient "moment for its purpose, the scoundrel who was "on the coach threw himself upon the courier, and "stabbed him to the heart with one hand, while he "cut the poor man's throat with a razor which he "held in the other. The whole was done so quick- "ly, that even the postillion did not perceive it, nor "did the courier utter a single cry. The four ac- "complices then approached and compelled the "postillion to drive the vehicle about five hundred "paces from the highway. There they assassinated "him also, splitting his head with a sabre, and then "proceeded to plunder the mail. This done, the "man who rode with the courier [Durochat] mount- "ed the saddle-horse of the postillion, and the five "set out upon their return to Paris.

"They were seen," [by the officer of the guard,] "to re-pass Villenevre-Saint-Georges" [towards one o'clock in the morning. They entered Paris between four and five o'clock, through the barrier Rambouillet.] "The postillion's horse was found at the "Place du Carrousel, where it stood fastened the "whole of the day. The neighbours seeing that no "one came for it, made the fact known to the police, "who were led, by their suspicions, to call the at- "tention of the Postmaster to the circumstance. "He recognised the horse. These facts may be re- "garded as certain."

This recital was subsequently confirmed in every particular at the trial, and the prosecuting officer presented the facts in almost the same terms in his indictment to the jury of Melun. It was soon discovered that Bernard had supplied the four horses, and he was arrested. The four assassins had been seen by a number of persons at Montgeron, where they had dined and played at billiards, and at Lieursaint, where they were arrested. Meantime Guesno, who, it will be recollected, was Lesurques' friend, and in no way implicated in the outrage, had gone to Chateau Thierry on private business. Couriol went there also, and lodged in the same house with him. Here Couriol was found, and his papers were seized, as were those also of Guesno, and even of Bruer, their host. The two latter, after an examination by the police, were discharged, but Couriol was detained. Guesno, having received from the magistrate an order for the surrender of his private papers, which had been deposited at the Central police office, set out for that place, and while on his way, whom should he meet, as ill-luck would have it, but Lesurques, whom he invited to accompany him. Lesurques consented, and the two friends entered the offices together.

While they were waiting their own opportunity of communicating their business, the police magistrate, Daubanton, was examining some witnesses in reference to the murder of the Lyons courier. Two females who had been brought from Montgeron, one of them a girl named Grosse Fête a servant at the inn of that place, and another girl named Sauton, a domestic in a neighbouring family, both pretended to recognise in Lesurques and Guesno, two of the men who had dined and taken coffee at Montgeron, the day of the assassination. At first it seemed inconceivable to Daubanton, that two accomplices in such a murder should push their audacity so far as to come thus into his very presence. This reflection escaped him at the time, and he afterwards repeated it to the two girls, warning them against making a mistake which might conduct two innocent men to the gallows. They persisted in their declaration and a warrant for the arrest of both the men was immediately issued.

By a fatality without a parallel, this deposition of the two women was founded upon the perfect resemblance between the two friends and two of the assassins, Dubosq and Vidal, the real authors of the crime, who were not arrested until afterwards. The news of Lesurques' arrest of course spread the utmost consternation among his family and friends. In spite of the strong circumstantial proof against him, they could not find any sufficient motive for a man who possessed a comparatively independent fortune, who, up to that time, had maintained a blameless character; leaving his native home to reside in Paris, with the view of committing such an awful crime, for no apparent motive but the acquisition of the paltry sum of twenty thousand francs, to be shared between five accomplices.

But, in spite of these presumptions against his guilt, the prosecution was vigourously pressed. He, and Guesno, and de Bruer were arraigned for trial, by the side of Couriol, Bernard and Richard, and these two women persisted in their original declaration. Guesno succeeded in proving an *alibi*. So, also, Bruer, whom an inkeeper pretended to recognise as one of the party of the 27th. Lesurques was confident of demonstrating his innocence clearly as theirs had been, notwithstanding his identity was attested by other witnesses besides the two women.

For the purpose of showing how he had employed the whole of the 27th day of May, he called fifteen witnesses in sucession, all pursuing respectable callings, and most of them at the time engaged in embellishing his apartments. They all showed that he could not have been, at any time during that day, at the scene of the crime, and by way of demonstrating that there could be no possible error in the date of the events sworn to, the painter Baudard recollected that he was on guard that day, and his guard ticket, deposited with the register, would verify his statement. A goldsmith, named Legrand, testified that Lesurques had spent part of the morning in question with him, and had made some purchase, which his books would show were posted the 8th Floreal — the 27th May. The presiding judge of the court, Gohier, required the goldsmith's account-book to be produced, where, upon examination, it appeared quite manifest that the figure 9 had been altered to an 8. The judge detected the alteration in an instant, and directed the witness to be arrested at once for perjury. This little alteration, which it was possible to believe had been made the day after the crime had been perpetrated for the purpose of getting up testimony, armed the court with the strongest prejudice against the innocence of the prisoner. From that moment they ceased to put any faith in the testimony produced in his behalf; all his witnesses were suspected of acting in connivance to swear him through. Had he rested his case upon the testimony of the workmen in his house, there was no doubt that he would have been discharged. More than eighty witnesses, most of whom had come all the way from Douai, at their own expense, testified to his probity and good character, but his prejudiced judges and jurors would see nothing but the false charge in the jeweller's account-book.

On the other hand a silver spur was shown to Lesurques, and one of the women who had accused him, turning to him on the witness stand said, "I saw "you fix this on your boot—I gave you a string to "fasten together the links in its chain."

To all those accusing circumstances, which were overwhelming him, Lesurques could present nothing but the self-possessed countenance of an innocent man. Couriol and his companions likewise denied their guilt obstinately.

Finally, the testimony was closed, the public prosecutor asked for the conviction of Lesurques and his fellow prisoners and the jury were sent to the jury room to determine upon their verdict, when a woman insisted upon speaking to the judges, for the purpose, as she stated, of preventing them from doing an irreparable wrong. It was Madelaine Breban, mistress of Couriol, whose sense of justice compelled her to intercede in behalf of Lesurques. On being brought before the President Gohier, she declared "that she knew positively that Lesurques is innocent" that the witnesses, deceived by an unfortunate resemblance, had confounded him with one of the assassins, whose name, she said, was Dubosq, as they had confounded Guesno with Vidal. Blinded by his prejudices, the President drove the woman from his presence, and referred to the closing of the proofs as an objection to the reception of new testimony; as if it were better that the jury should themselves repeat the crime they were trying to punish, than violate a technical rule of procedure.

Through the whole of the trial Gohier exhibited the most revolting partiality; he encouraged the witnesses for the prosecution, and browbeat those who appeared for the defence. Legrand the unfortunate goldsmith, was so alarmed by the passion of the magistrate, that he lost his reason, and died mad at Charenton. A young girl, who was called on the part of the defence, fainted from the same cause. A man by the name of Emery, having been requested to testify without fear and without excitement exclaimed, "Yes, without fear in spite of every thing which has been done to inspire it." Gohier did not wish to hear the workmen who came to prove the *alibi* of Lesurques, at all. "The inconsis- "tency of his course to the jury," said one of Lesurque's counsel, Guinier, in a pamphlet published at the time, "were of the grossest kind. He spoke "last; he argued when he should have confined "himself to a simple *resumé* of the arguments of the "counsel, and the testimony and the case being thus "closed, cut off from the accused and his counsel all "opportunities of correcting the errors into which "the jury were led by the court." "The jurors on "this occasion," says a publicist of the period, "proved that the institution of trial by jury is not "sufficiently perfect to protect the peaceable and "law-abiding citizen from the hatred of his enemies "and the mistakes of judges."

The verdict of DEATH was returned by the jury, in this case, after a brief deliberation, against Couriol, Lesurques and Bernard. Guesno and Bruer were acquitted. On hearing his sentence, Couriol at once exclaimed, "Yes, I am guilty, I acknowledge "my crime, but Lesurques is innocent, and Bernard "has had nothing to do with the murders." Four several times he reiterated this declaration, and afterwards, in a letter addressed to the judges, he said again, "I have never known Lesurques. My accom- "plices were Vidal, Rossi, Durochat, and Dubosq, "whose resemblance to Lesurques has misled the "witnesses." The statement of Couriol was minute, and corresponded at every point with the circumstances of the case as set forth in the original indictment. Madelaine Breban appeared before the judges again, to renew her declaration, attended by two other individuals. Cauchois and Goulon, who swore that, before the sentence was given, she had said "that the innocent were about to suffer," and "that Lesurques had never had any relations what- "ever with the criminals."

These stories of Madelaine, Cauchoise and Goulon united to the self-accusing Couriol's protestations of Lesurques's innocence, could not fail to beget some doubt about the justice of the sentence. The Directory took notice of the affair. They had no power of granting pardons, but appalled at the irreparable consequences of destroying an innocent person, they brought the subject to the notice of the legislative Assembly. Their message was pressing and explicit: "Ought Lesurques," said they, "to perish on "the scaffold because he resembles a felon?" The Council of Five Hundred, upon receiving a report upon the subject from Deputy Simeon, passed on to the order of the day, upon the ground that they could not interfere with the established procedure of the courts, for the purpose of granting relief in a particular case.

One interesting feature in Simeon's report to the Council of Five Hundred, related to Lesurques' pecuniary resources. It had been the cue of his prosecutors, previous to and during the trial, to insist that the prisoner was poor, and that he committed the murder for the plunder. The public prosecutor at Melun, whose duty it was to present the case to the jury, made this allegation in their presence, in the following brutal language: "*Lesurques lies* when "he pretends that he has a sufficient fortune to live "with respectably; *he lies*, when he speaks of the "regularity of his conduct. The authorities of his "native place declare that he has not the means of "living without labour, and that he is a man of ex- "pensive habits and bad demeanour."

After Lesurques' condemnation, it became important to show that he had the means of bribing the clouds of witnesses who, with such overwhelming unanimity, testified in his behalf to the *alibi*, and to his irreproachable character. Then, every effort was made to prove his wealth, regardless of the greater improbability of his guilt which such proof would establish, by removing the only imaginable motive for committing the crime. In the report to which I have referred, Simeon showed, among other things, that by Lesurques' condemnation, and the consequent confiscation of his estate, the Government had come into possession of a farm, the revenue of which was 3,400 francs, of a house at Douai, and of another small tract of land besides. He also showed that Lesurques was in the receipt of a small revenue as agent of two estates for another person.

This report was searchingly reviewed by Guinier, one of Lesurques' counsel, in a tract called "*Observations sur le rapport de la Commission chargee par le Conseil des Cinq-Cents d'examiner l'affaire Lesurques, condamne a mort, par judgement du tribunal criminal du department de la Seine, le* 18 *thermidor an IV. de la Republique.*" But neither this appeal, nor the deep conviction of Lesurques' innocence which pervaded the nation, seemed to produce any effect upon the Government. This obstinacy was attributed, in part, to their unwillingness that the new institution of jury trials, which they had recently introduced, should be discredited, and partly to their pecuniary necessities, which made it inconvenient to refund the estate which they had confiscated.

All hope of pardon being now gone, Lesurques prepared to meet death with a calmness which became his innocence. "My dearest friend," wrote he to his wife the day of his execution, "no one can escape "his destiny. It is mine to be judicially murdered. "I shall at least meet my fate with the courage be- "coming both of us. I send you my hair. When "our children shall be grown you will share it with "them; it is the only heritage I leave them."

In a farewell letter to his friends he wrote again, "the truth could not make itself heard, and I perish "the victim of a mistake." He also published in the public journals a letter addressed to Dubosq, whose name as one of the murderers was revealed by Couriol. It ran as follows: "You, in whose place I suf- "fer, be content with the sacrifice of my life. If you "shall ever be delivered up to justice, remember my "three children overwhelmed with disgrace, and "their mother with despair. Do not prolong those "calamitous consequences of our unfortunate person- "al resemblance."

Lesurques publicly forgave the judges and witnesses through whom he had been condemned. He desired to go to his punishment in white vestments, in which he was indulged, and during his ride from his prison to the place of execution, preserved the utmost calmness and composure of countenance. Couriol, who sat near him on the fatal car, never ceased crying "I am guilty and Lesurques is inno- "cent." They were thus executed together, the guilty with the innocent, on the 30th of October, 1796.

The declaration of Couriol was afterwards confirmed in every particular, and in the most positive manner. Within a few months after the execution, Durouchat, one of the parties whose guilt Couriol had revealed, was arrested. He was the one, it will be remembered, who rode beside the courier and first stabbed him. He had several *aliases* to his name, sometimes he was called Veron, sometimes Laborde, and sometimes Durochat, under which name he was arrested and prosecuted. Being interrogated by Daubanton, the police magistrate, he avowed his guilt, pointed out his accomplices, Vidal, Rossi, and Dubosq, the persons designated by Couriol, but he protested up to his last breath that Lesurques was innocent. After his first examination he varied some part of his statement. Sometimes he said that Barnard was not interested in the robbery; sometimes that he was. As the time drew near when he was to pay the penalty of his crime, Vidal and Dubosq were brought into his presence. He recognized Vidal, but refused to recognise Dubosq, although the latter had been implicated in his previous declarations. Subsequently, and within the hour of his execution, he admitted that he had not recognised Dubosq, because Dubosq had given him money, and assisted him in his necessities.

The magistrates who sent the innocent Lesurques to the scaffold, and their champions who have insidiously pursued his memory ever since, have made these contradictions of Durochat a pretext for insisting that money could procure any testimony from him that was worth paying for, and that what he said in defence of their innocent victim had been purchased.

Dubosq, who was a desperate villain, was arrested before the execution of Lesurques, but he escaped three or four times from the various prisons in which he was confined, and was not within the control of the law at the time when his testimony might have saved Lesurques life. Vidal, who made his escape with Dubosq, was retaken and executed two years after Lesurques. He obstinately denied all knowledge of the acts charged upon him, and uniformly disavowed any acquaintance whatever with Lesurques, whom he said he had never seen. The witnesses who were here sending Guesno to the gallows for his resemblance to Vidal, agreed, when they saw the latter, that they had been mistaken, and that he, and not Guesno, was the man whom they had seen under the circumstances of suspicion which they had described on the trial.

This confession produced a profound impression upon those who had participated in the condemnation of Lesurques. The prosecuting officer stated in his plaint against Dubosq and Vidal to the jury of Melun—"Justice has nothing to repent of in her "severity towards Couriol, Durochat and Barnard. "Of the guilt of the first two there is no doubt, for "they both participated in the assassination. If Ber- "nard did not share with them in that crime, at least "he can never wash himself of the guilt of partici- "pating in its fruits. It is not so with Guesno and "Lesurques. The first would not have been prose- "cuted but for his extraordinary resemblance to "Vidal; but he was saved. Why should a similar "accident cost the unhappy Lesurques his honour "and his life?" So, too, Daubenton, the magistrate, who, throughout the whole affair, exhibited a loyal zeal for the memory of Lesurques, and was inconsolable at the calamity of which he had been the innocent cause.

Finally, the time arrived when Dubosq was to pay the legal penalty of his extraordinary career of crime. He was arrested in Paris, not through the activity of the police, but the watchful energies of M. Emery, who was a warm friend of Lesurques, and who, at his own expense, organized a systematic pursuit of the dauntless rascal. Dubosq had his agents everywhere, and, at the very time that he was arrested, notices were appearing in the journals, designed to mislead his pursuers, to the effect that he was in prison, at one time at Lyons, at another at Roanne. M. Emery, disregarding all these tricks, found at last the residence of the villain, and of the woman who lived with him, in the *rue* Haitonville. It was filled with all the implements of his dark calling, passports without number and disguises of every description. He was immediately brought to trial, and by order of the Minister of Justice was confronted with the witnesses who had testified against Lesurques. Fearful of making again the mistake which they had been proved to have made in the case of Bernard and Guesno, they at first refused to vary their testimony or to inculpate Dubosq. Subsequently the prisoner was brought before them in a light wig, and fronting a picture of Lesurques, which the family had deposited with the clerk of the police.—Then it was that dame Alfoy surrendered, and after contemplating the picture attentively, declared, with deep emotion, that her conscience compelled her to say that she had been deceived, and that Dubosq, and not Lesurques was the man whom she had seen on that fatal night at Lieursaint. The President of the tribunal then asked her why she had not acknowledged this before; she replied *that she dared not.*

After the conviction and punishment of Dubosq, justice had but one more of the guilty party to strike. About three years after Dubosq's execution, Rossi, alias Ferrari, alias Legrand, an Italian whose real name was Ferrari, was discovered at Madrid, and was surrendered on reclamation to the French Government. He was condemned to death, and executed about eight years after the assassination of the Lyon's courier. As he was about to mount the scaffold, the wretch acknowledged the justice of his sentence, declared that he had never known Lesurques, and transmitted to the Abbe Grandpre, his confessor, at Versailles, a packet, the opening of which he requested might be deferred six weeks. When examined it was found to begin thus: I give the French, as the spelling shows the grade of the man's intelligence: *J'ai declare que le nome Lesurques-et innocente.*

This was the seventh man who had suffered for a crime which, it was proved on three successive jury trials, was committed by six persons. As to which one of the seven, was unjustly puhished, no doubt was entertained by the people of France—and yet for over thirty years after Lesurques's conviction, every effort to restore his fortune to his family was resisted by the magistracy and the legislative authorities, with a malignity almost incredible. The application of the heirs came before every administration, from 1797 down to 1831, when, and not till then, a partial restoration was made of the rights which had so long been denied them. I will not go into a history of the long struggle by which this restoration was accomplished. The controversy gave rise to the publication of cart loads of pamphlets and libraries of legislative documents. I have given all of the story which is necessary to make the allusion in Victor Hugo's speech intelligible. After perusing this account some of your readers probably better understand what the orator meant, when he said to his persecuted son, "think that you sit where sat Lesurques."*

P. S.—I perceive an announcement in the *Evenement*, the paper in which the offending article of young Hugo's appeared, that an appeal was taken to the Court of Cassation, but subsequently abandoned by his counsel, M. Cremieux, (who it will be recollected was a member of the Provisional Government in 1848) because he had too little hope of succeeding, and the consequences of failure in such an appeal are a serious aggravation of the penalty; of what nature I do not know, but presume an increase of the fine and a promulgation of the period of imprisonment are two of them.—*Evening Post.*

*Those who may be curious to study this extraordinary case more in detail, may consult Saint-Edme, *Repertoire general des Causes celebres anciennes et modernes*, 2d Serie, t. iv.; Salgues *Notice du la vie et la mort de Joseph Lesurques*, published in 1821; the *Refutation du rapport de M. le baron Zangiacomi*, published at Paris in 1823, by the same author; the *Biographie Universelle, tit. Lesurques* and Quinier's *Observations sur le rapport de Conseil des Cinq Certs, &c.*

THE POTATO ROT.

The correspondence which we publish below will, we think, be equally valuable and interesting to a large number of our readers. The subject is one whose importance to our whole community cannot be over-estimated, and which has for the last few years formed a staple article for newspaper discussion. The large reward offered by our Legislature for a solution of the mystery has brought forth one or two new theories on the subject, and we feel that no apology is necessary for taking up considerable space with Dr. Harris' letter. It is probably not necessary for us to inform our readers that Dr. Harris is the Librarian of Harvard University, and that, as an Entomologist, he is acknowledged to have no superior. His remarks, therefore, have the weight of *authority* to support them.—*Salem Observer.*

DANVERS, July 8, 1851.

To the Editors of the Salem Observer:

Gentlemen—In your paper of the 5th instant, there appeared a brief note, intimating the belief that the pretended discovery of the cause of the injury to the potato, in the *small black bug* mentioned by Mr. Flanders, would be found a *delusive hope*. Feeling a deep interest in this subject, I addressed a line to Dr. Harris, of Cambridge, giving him such a description and specimen of insects found on the potato as I had at command; and have received from him the following letter, the publication of which I trust the author will pardon, as the subject is one of great public interest at this time.

Very truly, your obedient servant,

JOHN W. PROCTOR.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., July 7, 1851.

John W. Proctor, Esq.: Dear Sir—Your description of the insects on the potato vine, with the specimens (though the latter had suffered some in transmission), applies well to the *larvæ* of *Crioceris trilineata*, described in the work on Insects injurious to Vegetation, pages 95-96, to which I beg to refer you for particulars, at the same time thanking you for your offer of other specimens, if required. You may be assured that this insect has nothing to do with the potato rot, which, as far as I can judge, has no connection with *insect depredations* of any kind.

A year or two after the potato rot appeared in England, a Mr. Smee thought he had discovered the cause of it in the attacks of certain plant-lice, or *aphides*, and he wrote a work on the subject, and dedicated it to Prince Albert. British naturalists, however, did not sustain him in his view.

Three or four years ago, some person sent to me, through Mr. Cole, a lot of insects, which he was confident were the cause of the potato rot, having found them in considerable numbers on the vines. They proved to be the *larvæ* or young of a species of Coccinella, or lady-bird, as commonly called, an insect innocent of all offence against vegetation, and living in all its stages upon plant-lice.

In the summer of 1849, a young farmer in Watertown brought to me a slender, striped, smooth caterpillar (or worm as he called it), which he found burrowing in the potato-stalks. I have found the same not only in potato-stalks, but in the stems of the common pig-weed. It is the larva of a small moth, and, though capable of doing some mischief, is by no means so common or so abundant as to warrant even a suspicion that it was the cause of the potato rot.

Last summer, the farmer employed by Mr. Wm. C. Bond, astronomical observer, announced that he had discovered the cause of this potato disease, and stated that it was occasioned by the punctures of insects, great numbers of which were to be found on the vines. At my request, he collected and sent me several of them in spirit. They proved to be identical with the little black jumping beetles that often infest cucumber vines, and which are described in my book, pages 103-104. These may be the same as those mentioned in your communication.

I could enumerate at least half a dozen more kinds of insects that are occasionally or always to be found, in their season, on the potato vines—insects varying in size from the minute black Haltica, above mentioned, to the big potato-worm or Sphinx *quinquemacula*—all of them destructive according to the extent of their powers, but innocent of the great offence, which might be charged to them, with as much propriety as to other insects, of causing the potato disease. I will only advert to one more, namely, the Baridius *trinotatus*, an insect for whose history we are indebted to a lady, Miss Margaretta Morris, of Germantown. In the larva state it lives in the stems of the potato, where it is finally transformed to a little gray beetle having three black dots on its shoulders. This insect, though common enough in the middle States, I have never seen in New England, in the course of 30 years of observation, and am confident that it must be rarely found here, if at all. Miss Morris, when she first discovered its habits, thought she had detected the real culprit, but has become convinced that the potato rot is not caused by it, though the ravages of this insect are admitted to be very considerable.

And now Mr. Flanders comes forth, as the claimant of the premium offered for the discovery of the cause and remedy for this pestilence, telling his Excellency, the Governor, that "*a black bug* preys upon the leaf until it destroys the vine and causes the root to rot," &c. &c. The claimant ought at least to produce his *black bugs*, and have them examined by a naturalist, to see whether they are native or imported insects.

As the potato rot has spread over Europe, and prevailed there to an alarming extent *before* it reached America, and as the disease found here occurs with precisely the same symptoms and results as in Europe, it must, wherever and whenever it appears, have *one common specific cause*. If occasioned by insects, then the insects causing it must be of the same *kind or species* in all regions where the disease has extended. It would be entirely unphilosophical and contrary to all analogy and all experience to attribute the disease to one kind of insect in one country, and to an *entirely different kind of insect* in another country—to aphides in England, to 'black bugs' in America, to *lady birds* in Massachusetts, and to the *Baridius trinotatus* in Pennsylvania. It is a well established fact that the insects of America and of Europe *are not identical*, excepting only in those few cases where some one species of one country has been introduced by the intervention of man into the other country. It has never been shown, and I think will never be proved, that *any one species of insect* of sufficiently destructive powers to prove extensively injurious to the potato crop is to be found alike on the potatoes of Europe and of America; and until such proof is produced I shall continue to maintain the opinion that I have ever held, that insects have no concern or connection with the potato disease.

I have written out my views hastily, but somewhat at length, on this important subject—as your inquiries and observations seemed designed to call for my opinion. But though perfectly willing, as in the present case, to express an opinion, *when asked*, I have no wish to sit in judgment upon others, and might have maintained a reserve upon the latest humbug concerning the potato pestilence, if your own sagacity had not led you to suspect the smallness of its pretensions.

With respect, yours,

THADDEUS WILLIAM HARRIS.

THE CONNECTICUT LANGUAGE.

In the course of a discussion in the State Senate, growing out of an appropriation, to supply the common schools of this State with Webster's Dictionary, Senator Beekman delivered himself of a remonstrance in a slang lingo made up from Merriam's Springfield Edition of Webster, of 1850.

"Despite the ci-devant cicisbeos of Webster, I consider this bill a cerule cento, a chaology, a chewet, mere chat potatoes. It ought not to be unroiled a chiffy. Such a churme should not be made by anyconamore conatus. It is not comme il faut that a commensal compagnation, a Senatus consultum, coming from this concamerated concameration, should char so crebrous a claudication in schools. I regard the book as likely to be as erethistic as a circulatorious cimiss, or a cock paddle in hummuns, or a chad in colly."

The following is the *translation* as furnished afterwards by Senator B.:

Despite the old-fashioned dauglers about Webster, I consider this bill a blue patch-work, a chaos, a mince-meat, mere small potatoes. It ought not to be meddled with a single moment. Such a noise should not be made by any effort however earnest. It is not proper that this agreement around a table—this decree coming from this vaunted chamber, should produce so awkward a lameness in schools. I regard this book as likely to be as energetic for mischief as a migratory bed bug, or a lump fish in a bath-room or a shad in a coal-smut.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

—THE *Swansea Herald* gives the following lines which appear as an epitaph on a head-stone in St. Michael's Churchyard, Aberystwith, to the memory of David Davies, Blacksmith, late of that town:—

"My Sledge and Hammer lay reclined,
My Bellows, too, have lost their wind;
My fire's extinct, my Forge decayed,
And in the dust my Vice is laid;
My Coal is spent, my Iron gone,
My Nails are drove—my work is done."

—THE BREAK-UP OF THE UNION.—